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HISTORY
OF
JACOBINISM

THE

HISTORY OF JACOBINISM,

ITS CRIMES, CRUELITIES AND PERFIDIES:

COMPRISING

AN INQUIRY

Into the Manner of Diffeminating, under the Appearance of

PHILOSOPHY AND VIRTUE,

PRINCIPLES

WHICH ARE EQUALLY SUBVERSIVE OF

ORDER, VIRTUE, RELIGION,

LIBERTY AND HAPPINESS.

BY WILLIAM PLAYFAIR.

With an Appendix,

BY PETER PORCUPINE,

Containing a History of the American Jacobins, commonly
denominated Democrats.

VOL. II.

“ History, who keeps a durable record of all our acts, and exercises her awful censure over *all sorts of sovereigns*, will not forget these events.”

BURKE.

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HISTORY

OF

JACOBINISM.

CHAP. I.

Conduct of the chiefs of the revolt who were at the Hotel de Ville—Cruelties of the 10th of August—Decrees of that day—Insidious conduct towards the king and treachery to the nation—Manner in which Paris ruled despotically over France—Difficulties attending the establishment of a FREE republic in a large, populous, and old country—Comparison between the despotism of unlimited monarchy and republican despotism—Few instances of unlimited monarchies, and those confined to Asia and Africa—General reflections.

THIS second period of the French revolution which now began, shews in all its extent the misfortunes and crimes that result from encouraging men to rebel against legitimate authority. The reign of the people was now fairly established, and the first operation was to massacre all the

massacre

Swift guards who fell into their hands. Numbers were murdered and mutilated in detail, but the large column which had been taken was conducted to the Hotel de Ville, and, according to the custom (began with Bertier and Foulon two years ago), they were all massacred at the foot of the stairs, and in presence of the self-created, usurping magistrates. These murders were all approved of and protected upon the great scale, but the assembly pretended to preach respect to persons and property, when any particular occasion occurred that might shew something like a regard to justice without deranging the main plan of exterminating its enemies. As cruelty and humanity are incompatible with each other, and cannot lodge in the same breast, the assembly, the leaders of the revolt, and those who conducted it, must drop all claim to one or other of these qualities, and certainly it is not to that of cruelty; we are, therefore, justified in considering the cases in which they deviated from their general line of conduct, as unwilling sacrifices made to the shrine of justice and humanity, in order to blind the spectators with respect to the extent of their atrocities.

*new Council of
Paris.*

*Petion at the head
The Rabble at com-
mand.*

The new common council of Paris was now become the executive power, with Petion at its head and the rabble at its command; the assembly having consented to act the part of a passive instrument, and to decree whatever the populace, set on by the municipality, demanded, all power might be said to be lodged in the mayor and his consorts, who were the leaders of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs.

The municipal officers were formidable from their violence of disposition, as well as from their great number; selected from the different quarters of Paris, they had spies, connections, and enemies in every part of that large and populous city. A part of this number remained at the Hotel de Ville to deliberate and send off orders, and the remainder were dispatched to see them executed. The barriers had all been shut at an early hour in the morning to prevent their victims from escaping, as well as to prevent the departments of the kingdom from hearing the history of what was going on till all should be finished. In this they imitated the first leaders of the insurrection, who did precisely the same things on the fourteenth of July; but as the democrats of former times were the aristocrats of the present day, they were pursued with unrelenting vengeance, for they had been popular once, and might be formidable now. *Democrats become Aristocrats.*

M. de Clermont Tonnerre, one of the members of the first deputation of the assembly at Versailles to the insurgents of Paris, when the Bastille was taken, was the second victim after Mandat.* A number of *suspected* persons had *Tonnerre*

* This gentleman had always professed very moderate principles, though he had encouraged *the beginning of the revolt*. He was seized by the populace near his own hotel, at a distance from the Thuilleries. Every thing shewed that he was not occupied in any sort of plot or conspiracy. He used his eloquence and his arguments in vain. When the people found that he defended himself from all blame, a blow was aimed at him, and the attempt to ward it off was a sufficient crime; he was then attacking the majesty of the nation, and was immediately immolated to its justice. This is one of the

had been imprisoned during the night only because they were found walking the streets, and because some of them had arms, a very natural precaution in such times; and eleven out of twenty-eight were barbarously murdered in order to excite the people to acts of outrage and violence by the double feeling of fear and rage. A plot it was pretended had been discovered, and the heads of the pretended conspirators were carried about on poles; this artifice had already been so often practised, and in general succeeded so well, that no doubt can be entertained of the design with which it was done.

The populace assembled through curiosity and anxiety at first, but had not taken any active part

the ten thousand lessons given by the revolution to those who for one moment think that insurrection can be a duty. The virtuous and moderate Clermont Tonnerre was more obnoxious to the anarchists now, than the greatest aristocrat had been at the beginning of the revolution.

The persons stopped in the night time were stragglers, who, through curiosity, or inquietude, could not stay at home; nothing could be proved against them, nor was it attempted. They were chiefly young men, well dressed, and some of them of wit and talents; they were, therefore, aristocrats, and that was enough, republican justice and zeal required nothing more for a pretence, and the real motive was to render the people mad with rage. All this was done before the attack of the Tuilleries commenced; and it is well known that any violent excess of this sort inspires a mob with anger against the military who are stationed for the preservation of order; because a crime committed leads to the fear of punishment, therefore, desperation follows the shedding of innocent blood. Besides this, heads carried on poles shew the inhabitants that the mob has triumphed over law and order, and, therefore, all those who go with the strongest, become aiders and abettors.

in the attack upon the Thuilleries, but when they saw these bloody trophies, and as soon as the unfortunate guard were conquered, they were ready to play their part in robbery and assassination.

The trick played off formerly to incense the people against the governor of the Bastille was now employed against the Swiss, and with a similar effect ; * they were pursued like wild beasts, and no mercy was given. Their mutilated carcasses bestrewed the streets, and received the last indignities that a complication of abominable passions could inspire into the minds of a corrupted and enraged populace.

The perpetrators of many of the infamies and horrors of the revolution are screened from the full extent of the anger and disgust which their atrocities would inspire, from the circumstance that THEY DO NOT ADMIT OF BEING REPEATED, *not to be repeated.* until all regard to modesty, and the feelings of humanity shall be stifled in the minds of other nations ; should such an unfortunate and miserable period ever come, then will Parisian refinement and the acts of the good people (*le bon peuple*) of France shine forth in all their natural and original splendour ; till then, we must be contented to say, that depraved imaginations were tortured to invent whatever it was possible for savages void of every feeling of humanity to execute.

* It was said that the Swiss had betrayed the people by an appearance of friendship and peace, and when they had made them approach, received them with a general discharge of musketry. Nothing was more false.

Porters

Servants

The porters of the gates of the Thuillerie garden, and who were as innocent of what had passed at the palace as if they had been an hundred miles distant, were cruelly massacred with their wives and children. The menial servants of the palace, whose misfortune it was to be there, but who had not engaged in any resistance, shared the fate of the Swiss.* Cooks, scullions, man-servants and maid-servants, all alike fell victims to the republican rage.

The assembly pretended to deliberate calmly, and to govern France, while they took the most important resolutions at the command of the mob, and no protest has ever been entered into against the legality of the proceedings [Note N.]

As soon as matters were a little quieted, couriers were dispatched to all the provinces, which were in expectation of some great event, as in the first days of the revolution, and ready to receive whatever impulse might be given. There was now, however a difference of the position of men's minds; at the first epoch, men were tired of the oppressions of a regular government, they were now tired of the ten-fold greater evils of anarchy. In the beginning, hope of being better was the predominant passion, it was now fear of being worse that reigned, and of consequence, when the address of the assembly arrived, obedience and resignation were ready; but the Jaco-

* These last might have escaped if they had imagined there was any danger for them, but they fell victims, like many others, to the republicans, by not being able to conceive their danger.

bin clubs set to work, and soon procured addresses of adhesion and congratulation on the fall of that constitution which they had all so eagerly and so repeatedly sworn to maintain.—Whether the villany of the leaders, or the pusillanimity of the inhabitants at large was the greatest, it is difficult to determine; but it cannot be doubted that both the two were immensely great, and it is evident that the Parisian leaders counted upon the obedient and submissive disposition of the nation, because the desire of adhering to the constitution had been recently manifested by a very great majority of the departments of the kingdom.

The leaders of the insurrection reasoned thus: we are few, but we shall persuade a number of the people whose indigence renders them discontented, to join us; when we are ten thousand, no force in Paris can oppose us, and therefore all Paris will join with us; when the deed shall be done, we shall be all equally guilty, and therefore Paris will maintain what has become her act and deed. Paris is the center of the kingdom, and the most populous city; no one department will venture to rise against us; we shall call upon them for support separately and in detail; they will have no time to consult with each other, and must therefore be incapable of any systematic opposition. Add to this, by our fifteen thousand clubs, we can put the magistrates of all France in fear and in danger, so that before the moment for reflection or resistance can come, they will be obliged to declare themselves in our favour; should some departments not do so, we have means easily to reduce them to obedience, as they can make no combined effort.

Such

Jacobin Logic

Such was actually the reasoning of the Jacobin leaders at Paris, and the event has shewn that they were not deceived.

The great extent of France, and all communications from the distant quarters being carried on by means of correspondences in Paris, rendered it absolutely impossible to take any measures to counteract whatever the Parisians chose to do.

America

Those who think that republican freedom can be established over a large and populous country, are much mistaken. If there is one large city that serves as a center, then will it rule the whole; if there is no such large city, then will the republic divide itself into smaller fractions. Even America, which has so many advantages in its favour, will either in time separate into different republics, or it will lose its liberty.* We must be careful to make a distinction between a republican form of government and a free government;

* It is not impossible but that the new federal city which the Americans are building as a center for their government, at a distance from the sea, is begun with an intention to prevent the whole country from becoming the slave of a large capital, and as such, it is extremely wise. With respect to the probability of the American states separating, when they become populous, or losing their liberties, it must depend on circumstances which of the two will happen; but the one or the other must happen, and it will be lucky for them if they separate and thereby preserve their liberty. Fear is the thing that supports despotism under a republican form, and fear cannot be inspired except when there is a powerful body to give the impulse in such a way, that both the action and reaction shall have taken place before there is time for the different provinces to consult together. Until America becomes populous there is not any danger.

they

they may, and sometimes are united, but they are not always so, though the republican forms have more the appearance of freedom than monarchical forms have.

Despotism in monarchy arises from a general disposition in the subjects to obey, and in republics from a general disunion and difference of opinion amongst the citizens. The Roman government was called republican, until the time of the emperors; but it was an abuse of language to comprehend the Roman provinces under the name of a free republic. The free republican government only existed at Rome, and a small portion of Italy. We may allow that the Roman citizens at a certain period were free, and that the freedom they enjoyed was under a republican form; but the free republic only extended to a small distance. The despotic republic extended over a great portion of Europe.

Rome

The republic of Athens was a free republic altogether, because its territories were not of such an extent as to admit the chief city giving arbitrary laws to the rest.

Athena

What was the consequence of the former of those republics? Why, that Rome increased to a most enormous size; that the wealth of all the provinces was continually extorted from the oppressed inhabitants, on purpose to support the enormous expenses of an enormous city; and whatever revolutions the parties in the capital effected, the whole of its subjects were obliged blindly to obey. France obeys Paris in the same manner; whether its inhabitants make a consti-

tution or destroy one, it is the same thing to the nation at large, they must submit.

Paper Money

The invention of paper money has softened the rigour of those contributions, under which industry and capital have been laid to support the vices and the expenses of government; but it will likewise be more terrible in the end than taxes, for the former robs the nation of all its capital, and encourages idleness, whereas the latter obliges men to be industrious, and only robs them of part of the fruits of their industry.

As republican forms by no means secure freedom, though they assume its appearance, it would be a very useful thing to enter fully into an inquiry, whether republican despotism or monarchical despotism is the worst? The prejudices of mankind are in favour of republics perhaps, but it would be very easy to prove, that people are much happier under mixed governments, than under a purely republican or monarchical form of government. It is at all events very certain, that the liberty of people under a republic depends upon the interest of all being nearly the same; now, great extent of territory, or those peculiar distinctions, views, prejudices, and interests, which are to be found in *all old nations*, prevent the possibility of that unanimity and co-operation which are necessary in order to procure happiness under a republican form of government. America is extensive, but in all other respects is at present much better fitted for a republican than a monarchical government, but it will become less so as it grows older. It was a general notion in France, that that kingdom

Old Nations

was

was too extensive for a republican form of government, but this was combated by the example of America; and in this case the Jacobins quoted example, the lessons of which they had so continually neglected, and upon an occasion where they could not with any propriety be applied.

Perhaps many people will think that we are going too far in saying, that even a mixed government could not exist in France, on account of its extent, population, and manners; but should we be wrong, there are at least a great many reasons that seem to support it. We must here enter our protest against the idea of speaking in favour of unlimited monarchy and arbitrary power or of any form that is not so far republican that the people shall have representatives with sufficient power to controul the will of the king; yet there are certainly cases, where a nation is unfortunately in a state where those blessings cannot be enjoyed; and it seems probable that the French nation is one example.

There are three sorts of hereditary monarchical governments. The one is, unlimited or untroubled monarchy, where there is no constitutional act to support the rights of the subject, and where, of consequence, the will of the ruler is supreme, and regulates all.

The second sort of monarchical government is, where there is a constitutional act, or where custom, natural justice or precedent, and laws already made, are a rule of conduct for the sovereign. This is pure but limited monarchy.

The

Mixed Government

3. Sorts of hereditary monarchy

Despotism

Pure monarchy

Mixed Monarchy.

The third is that mixed government, where the people share in the power of making laws with the king, and where they have sufficient means of making the constitutional act be preserved from any infringement on his part.

*Differences between
Europe, & Asia and
Africa.*

Under the first of these governments, none but ignorant barbarians or slothful voluptuaries can exist; but as there does not exist in Europe an example of one, nor, probably, an advocate in favour of one, it is not necessary to enter into any consideration of its incompatibility with human happiness.*

The second sort of monarchy is the most universal, in every sense of the word; first, such governments exist, and have existed, at all times; the bulk of civilised nations have possessed such, and do now possess such; they may be very mild, and the people very happy under them, or they may be the reverse; and it is unlucky that a form of government, under which men may be happy, which is so universal and capable of such modifications, has obtained the name of *arbitrary monarchy*, though that appellation cannot, with propriety, be applied but to the first sort of government of which we have been speaking.

* It is very extraordinary, that neither Goths, Vandals, nor any barbarous tribes, formerly in Europe, were governed by this sort of kingly power; nor was there any tribe of North American savages, yet Africa and Asia have produced many examples of this government, and all the Asiatic and African governments approach very nearly to this state of uncontrolled kingly power.

Republicans

Republicans are particularly apt to fall into the error of calling this limited monarchy arbitrary, and as the will conveys an idea of the deed, men are apt to think, that wretchedness is the lot of the subjects of all such governments, though experience does not, by any means, vindicate or support this opinion, which is founded upon the belief, that human nature is so depraved and perverted that rulers are always disposed to exercise injustice and oppression. This idea is wrong in itself, and the more inexcusable in republicans, that all their systems of republican happiness are founded upon the belief, that men are in general guided by good intention and a love of their country.

It may be said, that when people have rights arising either from a compact made with the king, or arising from certain principles having been long adopted and followed, unless they have a method of defending those principles against the power of the king, such rights are a mere illusion. This is true, in some degree, but by no means to its full extent.

To argue, that a king of Spain, for instance, because he has no parliament ready in Madrid to refuse the supplies, or disband the army, will lay unnecessary and oppressive taxes on the people, and declare war without provocation, is as unfair as to argue, that the house of commons will refuse the annual supplies because it has the power to do so. Those who calculate either upon the total depravity of the human mind in kings, or perfect virtue in people, are equally mistaken, as the history of mankind, from the earliest

*Total depravity of
kings &
perfect virtue in the
people - mistakes.*

earliest ages, proves beyond a dispute; and as the revolution of France confirms: it therefore follows, that the government of a nation should neither be founded upon the one nor the other of these principles, but should be regulated by the situation and nature of the people to be governed.

Rome

France

England

In Rome, as long as the people preserved themselves from corruption of manners and principles, every contest between parties ended in favour of liberty; at a later period, when the situations of men and things were changed, every contest ended in favour of despotism. In France, hitherto every contest for liberty has ended as in the latter period of the Roman government; and in England, every contest has ended as in the former period: there must therefore be, probably, some strong reasons for this difference of results, where the motives seem to have been the same.*

It is not, probably, one simple cause, but a combination of several different causes, that have operated so hurtfully against French liberty. The

*. Unlimited monarchies are rare things, and even those are not so terrible as people may imagine: a monarch, even in the worst of cases begins by making laws, and both his pride and indolence are concerned in adhering to them rather than in overturning them. The cruelties and oppression of such kings are rather on private and particular occasions than upon a large scale; and it is to be recollected, that the supreme power of one chief, by punishing with promptitude and severity, prevents a great many smaller oppressors from daring to exert their power; tyrants do not love rivals in atrocity, and therefore the worst of them generally protect their subjects from all oppression but their own.

size of the country, and the variety of the wants, wishes, and dispositions of the people, certainly are of the number—The impatient vivacity, which rushes too hastily to conclusions, and rejects those precautions which are necessary to prevent men from ruining themselves, seems, however, to be the principal one.

*Excessive want
of vivacity*

Another great cause is in the vanity and exalted notions of the people in general, which makes them reject the lessons of experience, and listen to wild theories.

Vanity

To these causes may be added another still: The depraved state of morals, and the consequent mistrust that takes place between different parties, which prevents OPPOSITE POWERS FROM ACTING WITH UNITED EFFORTS FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE STATE.* Contented with the means of defence, the different powers in the state in England make no attack upon each other's prerogatives; but in France we see it was a perpetual war for many ages. The king trampled on the rights of the people by depriving them of their lawful representatives, whilst he had the power to do so; and no sooner had an uncommonly virtuous monarch restored their rights

Depravity of morals

War for Prerogatives

* We never find in England different parties express themselves as if they thought all their opponents in politics were men void of principle, and not to be trusted. We make in this country a distinction between moral principle and political opinions. We suppose all men who form any ostensible part of society, agree nearly as to the former, though they differ widely as to the latter. Nobody will accuse the chiefs of either party of wishing to ruin England, but many may suppose that the measures of one of the parties lead to ruin.

to the people, than he finds himself stripped of his own with a tyranny and perseverance without example.

That the depraved state of morals was a very active cause we may learn from this, that when the revolution began, and the general run of the people had yet some attachment to principle, there were many attempts made to become free and happy; but after three years of anarchy had rooted up all respect to things hitherto held sacred, the revolution became **UNLIMITED ANARCHY**. All regard to law and natural or established rights were equally thrown aside, and there was less of what is properly called freedom than at any former period of French history.

If freedom is only to be obtained by balancing different powers against each other, as in England, the French seem to be incapable of possessing it long, from their want of moderation and confidence in each other, which will prevent them from acting together. And if freedom is to be obtained by a pure republican form of government, they seem to be equally incapable of possessing it, from the variety of their views and interests, the violence of their passions, and their want of purity of manners.

It is therefore, perhaps, more probable that France may enjoy liberty under limited, but unmixed monarchy, than under either a mixed, or a republican form; or, if ever freedom is enjoyed under the latter form, it will be when France shall be divided, and so diminished, that the city which is the centre of government will be no longer

Unlimited Anarchy

Want of Moderation

*Violence of Passions
Impurity of manners*

longer capable of exercising arbitrary sway under the appearance of republican liberty.

Who is the man, or where is he, that would not prefer being under the government of one king, than under that of those infamous men, who usurped the government, by placing themselves at the head of the revolt on the 10th of August? Had Robespierre, Danton, Petion, or Talien, reigned alone and without controul from that period, we should not have seen France desolated and disgraced by the massacres that succeeded. It is certainly no great compliment paid to kings, when we suppose them to be upon an equality in point of virtue and humanity with these miscreants; but it is a very great compliment to kingly government, when we assert that, even in the hands of such wretches, it would be preferable to a republic in a corrupted state of society.

What may tend a little to confirm us in the opinion that monarchy alone, and unmixed monarchy will best suit the situation and character of the French nation, is, that most of those who wished to see a free government established in France, and who aided to destroy the former government, but who are equally averse to anarchy as to slavery, are now of opinion that they were mistaken in thinking such a change could be effected in France by a national assembly, or by two houses of parliament.

*The first Revolutionists
convicted they were
mistaken.*

The law of juries upon the English plan, which is one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, was never put in practice in France, so as

to attain the end of justice; the same disposition for intrigue, the same want of patience and want of solid principles led the jurymen astray, that had ruined the national assembly and the nation. In the different municipalities and in the administration of the departments, men were oppressed with all the expenses of the ancient government, and vexed with all the sophisms and new-fangled principles of the revolution; so that it does certainly appear, as at least being very problematical, whether the French can be happy under any other than monarchical government, and that not of the *unlimited* sort, but, at the same time, *unmixed*.

We have been naturally led into these reflections at the time when the revolution changed its character, and when the results of the first principles laid down by the constituent assembly were fully developed; it was on the 14th of July that the nation had eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, but it was not till the 10th of August that its nakedness and wretchedness were perceived. [See Note O.]

14 July
10 Aug.

*Triumph of the
Rabble over the
Bourgeois.*

The triumph of the rabble was as complete over the burgeses after the 10th of August, as that of the burgeses had been over the nobles two years before. Men were now glad to hide their epaulets and uniforms, as they had formerly been to hide their stars and ribands; to be ragged, dirty, and disgusting, was the way to be honoured and respected, and was indispensable to individual safety; it was likewise the way to power and profit.

The

The Marseillois and their associates were perpetually in the club of Cordeliers. The Jacobin club for a few weeks was not quite upon the level of the revolution,* and it was considered as rather being too aristocratical for about eight or ten days; not that this reproach could be made with justice to the whole of the club, but that it wanted to be purified of many of its members who had formerly shewn too much moderation.

The manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick had produced in Paris a very different effect from what he expected; he had threatened when he ought to have promised; and, as the attack of the 10th had laid the Parisians open to all the vengeance which he could inflict, should he succeed, the whole inhabitants joined in wishing to have him repulsed. This operated a coalition of parties, exactly as the foolish affair of the Prince de Lambesc had done at the beginning of the revolution, and its effects were as fatal and as formidable to the advisers of that imprudent measure.

The friends of royalty in France were sorry to see their fortunes put into the hands of the King of Prussia, who was not half so much interested in the result of the affair as the Emperor of Germany. Prussia, it was evident, could not carry on the war at its own expense, and it was too remote from France to have any thing to fear from an attack upon itself. Besides, the court of

* *Au niveau de la revolution*, a Jacobin method for expressing their being ready to support every violent measure.

Berlin swarmed with men who did not approve of the monarchical form of government which they were to fight for, and all of whom were the enemies of the House of Austria. This hatred pervaded the officers and the private men as well as the courtiers; so that great success could not be expected; and what might, perhaps, have been obtained, was rendered impossible by the effect of the manifesto.

It is difficult to conceive by what arguments the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of only 80,000 men, could be persuaded, or could persuade himself, to send a manifesto, in which he menaced a great kingdom, to the assistance of whose king he was coming, whilst that king and his family were in the power of the very people he menaced. Did the duke reason from the former nature of the French nation, or from its present disposition? The French were never cowards formerly, and lately they had been very bold and audacious. At all events, it must be considered as very dangerous to put such men in fear, and reduce them to despair, when they had the king and his family in their power.

Had the peaceable and well-inclined citizens of Paris wished to disavow the affair of the 10th of August, they durst not now venture to do it, because it was necessary to be unanimous amongst themselves, in order to avert the evils from a foreign army with which they were threatened, and from which those most averse to the revolt of the 10th had the most to fear. The revolutionists who had nothing to lose could quit Paris, and would certainly have done so had the Prussian army

army advanced, they would have likewise carried the king and his family with them; but the citizen who had a house and some property, must have remained, and submitted to the laws and punishments which the conqueror might chuse to order. And what could he expect? either to be treated as guilty of traiterously aiding to attack the palace, or basely looking on. And who were to be the judges? why, strangers who knew nothing of the matter.

The violent efforts of the Parisians to stir up all France to repel the Prussian army, was the natural consequence of this imprudent and fatal manifesto; and we must lament, that, if the revolution has furnished little else on the side of the revolted but perfidy and crimes, on the part of those who wish to crush it, we have seen little else than blunders, originating in the total ignorance of what was going on in France, and the state of the minds of the people.

*imprudent and
fatal manifesto.*

The decrees rendered by the assembly on the 10th of August, [See Note P.] shew how readily the assembly concurred in destroying the constitution, even upon the supposition that it did nothing more than concur.

The king's ministers were dismissed, and replaced by Le Brun for foreign affairs; Danton, that factious and violent republican, for the minister of justice; Monge, a teacher of navigation, for the marine; Servan, who had been of the Jacobin ministry a few months before, for the war minister; and Claviere. These men were to supply the place of the king in the new order of things;

Le Brun, Danton

Monge

Servan

Claviere

Roland

things; that is to say, they were to be the executive power,* under, however, the controul of Roland, who had been minister at the same time with the other Jacobins, and had distinguished himself by an insolent letter to his majesty.

The re-appearance of these actors upon the scene shews the connection between the plans previous to the 10th of August, and after it. It at least shows, that this revolution did not originate in the king, nor was it the spontaneous effort of the people, since those who were seen so long ago preparing the way for it, now were immediately exalted by it to the first offices in the nation. It is thus, that when a rebel prince, in

*Le Brun**guillotined**Servan**Lt.*

* Le Brun was editor of a newspaper, and had been banished France, to which he had only ventured to return after the revolution had commenced, like many others of those who now held places of profit and importance. He has since been guillotined.

Servan had been openly accused by the popular deputy Le-cointre of Versailles, as a corrupt minister who had accepted bribes. He has since been guillotined.

Monge was the most unexceptionable of them all with regard to his past life, which was confined to attention to his business.

*Danton**Lt.*

Danton had been an advocate for causes determined by the cabinet council of the king, as our house of lords decides in England. He was one of the most daring and cruel men in France.

*Claviere cut his throat**Roland Lt.*

Claviere was originally a merchant in Geneva; he had left it for the revolution there; then had gone to Ireland to settle a colony, which he had soon left in order to job in the funds in Paris. He was a man of knowledge in several lines, but of a cruel and vindictive temper. He cut his throat in prison, as Roland did on the high road near Rouen.

Africa

Africa, dethrones a sovereign, he is put in his place; the persons who had been most active in dethroning Louis XVI. now reigned in his stead, under the name of the executive ministers.

Three years had been employed in France to render odious the characters of kings and queens, *kings and Queens rendered odious.* by collecting the crimes of those individual monarchs during many centuries, who had rendered themselves justly odious by abusing the power put into their hands. But the monarchs of the assembly, of the ministry, and of the municipality, willing, perhaps, to spare their historians a similar trouble, began by exhibiting in a few months more crimes and horrors than the historian would be able to relate, or the reader to remember.

We have already said, that the nature of the cruelties exercised prevented a regard to decency from calling down upon the perpetrators the full extent of the vengeance of mankind. It is equally true that their *multiplicity* prevents a complete detail; so that we may say, that both for enormity and extent their crimes surpass description.

As, after the 10th of August, one of the first acts was to suppress all the royalist, or even the moderate newspapers; as the liberty of the press, *Liberty of the Press at an end.* which had never been fully established except for the violent faction, was now entirely at an end, we must take the testimony of levellers and anarchists for the proofs of their own crimes; and we shall see that, though probably they do not go *Levellers and Anarchists witnesses of their own crimes.* nearly to the extent that truth would require, yet they go far enough for the purpose of convincing us that no government was ever so cruel, so unjust,

just, nor so treacherous, as that of the leaders of this second revolution.

Cambon, in a speech to the national convention, in November following, says :*

Cambon

“ Witness myself to many facts, I think it
 “ necessary to speak of them, that the convention
 “ may avoid what the legislative assembly suffered.
 “ An enemy to kings, I embraced with eager
 “ joy the revolution of 1789, which brought
 “ on the fall of kings. When I arrived in Paris,
 “ I perceived that a second revolution was necessary
 “ to consummate the fall of kings. That
 “ revolution was effected, not by those who pretend
 “ to have effected it, but by the legislative
 “ body, which disbanded the guard of conspirators
 “ of the king, which had suppressed the staff
 “ officers of the Parisian guards, and ordered
 “ the Swiss regiments to be dismissed ; and
 “ which had sent away the regular troops from
 “ Paris, in order that the people might have
 “ nothing to fear. The palace of the Tuilleries
 “ felt the blow, and shut up its garden. The
 “ legislative body, always revolutionary, said ;
 “ ‘ You shut up your garden—well, we will
 “ open it ;’ and the garden was opened, in spite
 “ of the tyrant who had shut it. That measure
 “ seemed contemptible but it was revolutionary.
 “ The Parisian, enemy of royalty, saw that all
 “ obstacles were removed, and he overturned
 “ royalty ; the agitators, seeing government
 “ organised, began to attack the legislative body.

*Garden of the
 Tuilleries shut.
 opened by the assembly.*

Agitators

* Cambon—This is the financier who regulated all the finances until Baire's expulsion from the assembly.

“ They

" They wished to turn the revolution to their
 " own advantage. From that time, *there are no*
 " *horrors of which the legislative body was not a*
 " *witness.* From that time, the legislative body
 " was obliged to beg, not the people, which
 " does not need such prayers, but the agitators,
 " who wanted to massacre and destroy all. *La Croix*
 " Croix was obliged to go upon his knees to
 " stop their fury. The legislative body suffered
 " much. The palace wanted to attack succes-
 " sively all those who defended liberty. It fail-
 " ed, because the legislative body was resolved
 " to save liberty. The legislative body thought,
 " that a revolution ought to be the act of the
 " whole nation, and decreed, that 20,000 men
 " should arrive in Paris. Despotism saw this
 " with affright; it thought, that 20,000 men
 " added to the Parisians might establish and
 " maintain order. Unfortunately, those 20,000
 " men did not arrive, for they would have saved
 " us from the anarchy that has reigned since the
 " 10th of August. The 2d of September I was
 " greatly grieved. If we had then taken pos-
 " session of the municipal force, anarchy would
 " have been prevented. I approve of the revo-
 " lution of the 10th of August."

grieved at 2. Sept.

M. Cambon, who preserved his credit with
 the convention longer than Robespierre himself,
 here avows the plan laid to dethrone the king,
 by sending away his guards, &c. as we have en-
 deavoured already to explain. He accuses, ne-
 vertheless, the palace of attacking, successively,
 all those who wanted to defend liberty. Both
 cannot be true. The first assertion is proved by
 the decrees of the assembly, the second is with-

out any shadow of proof; therefore there is no hesitation which of the two deserves most credit.

M. Cambon next declares, that intriguers wished to profit by the revolution, and oppress the assembly of which he was a member; and from that time there were no horrors to which the assembly was not a witness. But who were those intriguers? why he explains this by saying, if the municipality had been broke, all anarchy would have been prevented; it follows then, as clearly as any truth can follow, that the municipality which conducted the 10th of August, of which he approved, conducted the subsequent horrors; that is to say, M. Cambon approved of horrors, and called them patriotism and virtue, when directed against the court; but the same were horrors of the most terrible sort, the moment that the president of the assembly was obliged to go down upon his knees to avert them from the assembly.

This has been the uniform method in which the revolutionists have viewed the revolution; as long as pillage, massacre, and revolt, were employed against their enemies, it was virtue; but the moment it turned towards themselves, it was the greatest and most execrable horror; so that he who writes about the crimes and cruelties of the Jacobins only differs with themselves in respect to the commencement of the horrors, but not about their existence; in this all agree; and it is very lucky, that their condemnation coming from their own mouths, there is no room to dispute about its justice.

The heroes and patriots of the 10th of August, the virtuous mayor, Danton, and his associates, and Talien, the moderate Talien, conducted the horrors of which Cambon complains; Robespierre, Barrere, Collet d'Herbois, and the demigod Marat, were likewise of the party on both occasions. The fact is, that the perpetrators of both were exactly the same, as Cambon, without intending it, plainly shews; but as the massacres of which we are going to speak presently, could find no excuse whatever, whereas that of the 10th of August, by the aid of falsity and fiction, could be a little diminished, it was found convenient to throw the former upon the shoulders of another set of anarchists who were less known, or who were contented to divide the dangers and the crimes in the way that would be most advantageous to their abominable cause.

*Petion Danton
Talien Robespierre
Barrere, Collet d'Herbois
Marat the Heroes
of the 10. Aug.*

As soon as the address to the departments was dispatched, and the people, literally tired with killing and pillaging, had become a little more tranquil, the assembly voted a sum of money to the families of those who had fallen on the 10th of August, and also decreed a public funeral ceremony, in order to shew that honour to the victims of revolt that so sacred a duty required.

*Assembly honours
the memory of those
who fell 10. Aug.*

To this decree, of which the intention was certainly bad, as it tended to render honourable what was infamous, succeeded the cruelest and the most unjust decree that ever tyrant made.

The

The affembly, after decreeing the urgency of the case,* decrees,

*Crucel & unjust
decree vs. Eccle*

Art. I. All those ecclesiastics, who have not taken the oaths required, or who have retracted and persisted in their retraction, are ordered in eight days to quit the limits of their respective departments, and in fifteen days the kingdom; this delay to be counted from the publication of the present decree.

Art. II. Consists of rules for executing the above article.

Art. III. Those who do not obey the present decree shall be banished *à la Guyanne Française*.— [Here follows the manner of executing this article].

Art. IV. Those who leave the kingdom in a voluntary manner, are to have neither pension nor revenue, but are to receive three livres for every ten leagues of the journey to the frontiers.†

Art. V. Every ecclesiastic, who shall remain after he has declared that he will go, or who shall return, shall be condemned to ten years imprisonment.

Art. VI. All other ecclesiastics, who were not obliged by law to take the oath, whether regular

* Decreeing urgency was the method adopted when they wanted to be unshackled by law, justice, humanity, or any former decrees.

† Equal to an English penny per mile.

or secular priests, clerks, or lay-brothers, without exception, shall be subjected to the above decrees, whenever by any exterior acts they shall have occasioned any troubles, or *when six housekeepers in the department shall demand their banishment.*

Art. VII. Rules for executing the above decrees.

Art. VIII. Infirm priests and those above six-*ty years of age, are excepted.* *Ray of Cowardice & Cruelty*

Art. IX. The ecclesiastics excepted, shall be assembled in the chief town of each department, in a house of which the municipality shall have the inspection and the police.

The three remaining articles are to regulate the execution of the decree, which is the most cruel and unjust that ever was pronounced. The stranger who reads it, will imagine that he perceives a ray of humanity across the injustice, when he sees the eighth article, which makes an exception in favour of the aged and the infirm; but this was only a ray of cowardice and cruelty; those aged and infirm, as we shall soon see, were reserved for the massacres and slaughters which have since that time taken place at Paris, at Nantz, and through the whole kingdom, and which have served to heap opprobrium on the French nation that perpetrated or permitted them.

It was this terrible decree which is so shameful to the French nation that afforded England the opportunity of distinguishing itself above all other nations

nations for generosity and liberality of sentiment, by receiving with compassion, and supporting with liberality the exiled priests, who, in the end of that year, arrived in such numbers from the persecutions of their savage countrymen.

*English Generosity
is Pride, So Said
an Englishman.*

The victims of the despotism of Louis the Fourteenth, when he revoked the edict of Nantz, were well received, but they brought with them arts, industry, and capital; they were of our own religion, yet our generosity towards them, then, was justly celebrated. The latter instance of English generosity deserves so much the greater praise, that it was entirely without any interest, that it was to men of a different religion, and has been more extensive and much longer continued.*

This decree was followed by others in rapid succession, which not being urgent, prove how far

* It might with great propriety be recommended to the emigrants to keep up a better police amongst themselves than they do. Many have signified that France was more noble and more generous to the followers of James the Second of England, than to give them only two Louis a month; do these ungrateful ignorants know that James the Second had few followers, and most of them excellent soldiers, who served Louis the Fourteenth well? It is to the emigrants themselves to prevent such scandalous ingratitude from being manifested; and it is recommended to those worthy characters who have been placed at the head of the office for assisting lay emigrants, to be circumspect in how they apply money that is destined for the helpless, and not for those who keep chambermaids and valets. There are no valets allowed to a decayed English gentleman.—This hint is meant in justice to the deserving emigrants, and to the English nation, which pays.—It is to be presumed that it would be useless to say any more on this subject. This advice is for the advantage of those to whom it was addressed.

the

the assembly meant to adhere to its protestation of not augmenting its own power.

The destruction of all the statues of bronze, to be converted into cannon; the annihilation of all claims for indemnity, for such feudal rights as the constituent assembly had thought required any; the division of waste lands and the suppression of the order of merit of St. Louis, were decreed; and to complete the catalogue the division and sale of the lands of all the emigrants followed. *destruction of statues*

Such decrees, admitting their justice, ought to have been left to the convention, if the legislative assembly had wished not to extend its own power.

The regulations for calling a convention of the people were then next made; and as it had always been their method to put practice and principles in opposition to each other, it was ordered by these regulations that the primary assemblies should have no power to name their representatives at the convention, they should only have power to chuse electors, who should assemble and chuse representatives. This, which if the word national convention has any fixed meaning, is totally incompatible with such meaning, gave a double scope for intrigue. The Jacobin emissaries had the double chance of gaining the preponderance in the primary assemblies, and in the electoral assembly. *Practice & Principle in opposition*

The French nation had been all alive after the 14th of July; hope had re-animated order which
infur-

insurrection had destroyed ; but after the 10th of August, there was no hope to effect such reanimation, and accordingly the elections were conducted by only a small portion of the nation, and those of the most profligate and wicked. The convention has fairly shewn by its own conduct, what spirit reigned amongst the electors.

To these decrees soon succeeded activity of execution, and it was pretty well understood, that as the decree against emigrants, and for dividing their lands, was an excellent expedient for enriching the nation, it would be well to *increase the number of emigrants*, or punish those who did not emigrate, in such a manner as to put an end to the ancient race of proprietors in France.

For this purpose, arrests and visits in private houses to discover suspected persons were instituted, under the inspection of the bloody municipality. The section of Paris, which had but a few weeks before shewn their attachment to the constitution and to royalty, now shewed great alacrity in executing those decrees of arrest upon suspicion. There were two hundred and eighty members of the Hotel de Ville, about six hundred officers belonging to the sections, and most of them men whose names and manner of signing, as well as whose persons were unknown in Paris. As all those were active in accusing, signing orders for arrests, and executing those orders, the number of persons who were seized was very great. In this confusion, all sort of regard to truth in the accusations was out of the question, as being totally impossible to be ascertained. Private vengeance did a great deal, and the desire of pillage

pillage still more. The members of the sections having become the agents of the principal leaders, through fear, the whole of the national guards, with only a very few exceptions, were just as completely at the orders of the Brigands, as they had ever been at those of Bailly and La Fayette; with this difference, that from willing soldiers who sometimes spoke their mind, they were become obedient slaves, who durst not even inquire into the motives of their masters.

It was resolved, according to the French custom, to organise arrestation; those who had organised revolt and anarchy, might easily expect success in so simple an operation as that of arresting a few thousands of individuals, who being separated, could make no resistance.

Under the pretence of searching for concealed arms, all the citizens, except those who were to be employed by the municipality, were ordered to remain at home, the barriers were shut, and armed men were stationed at all the corners of the streets; about one o'clock in the morning the search began, by patrols of men with pikes, composed of hair-dressers, and workmen of the lowest class, under the orders of commissaries of the sections, who were little better than themselves.* This organization of imprisonment produced

* A good picture of this has been given by M. Peltier, in his *Dernier Tableaux de Paris*, printed in London for the author, it is as follows: "At ten o'clock at night, groups of soldiers, placed at the angles of all the streets, arrested whoever was yet found straying about. Two hours had not yet been sufficient for those who sought a place of secrecy and surety against the formidable inquisition."

duced a considerable number of victims, although the precautions taken to escape were proportioned to the vengeance which those who might be taken had to fear.

Parties had so often changed their masters in Paris, that it was difficult to say who was safe, or who was not. The degraded Parisians, by continually obeying the voice of the strongest party, had alternately been the dupes of all, and few people could be certain whether or not they were safe; and those whose public conduct could stand the test, had their private enemies to fear.

As the prisons were now nearly filled with victims, it was thought proper to prepare for the cruel scene, which the men of the 10th of August were determined to act.

It would be useless to give the names of the persons who presided at these massacres, because they were almost all unheard of till then, and most

“tion. The husband fled from his wife, and the father
 “from his children, whom he pressed to his bosom, thinking
 “it was for the last time. Every one thinks himself accu-
 “sed; every one fears that amongst their visitors will be
 “found an enemy or a spy, or a servant who will discover
 “his place of refuge. One flies to the most distant quarter
 “of the city; here one is received, there one is repulsed,
 “and the fatal moment which approaches, doubles the in-
 “quietude and anxiety. Decency is in a degree violated
 “by friendship; here the brother shares the bed of his sister,
 “and there chastity and virtue implore an asylum from vice;
 “and many, whose lives had been without a stain, seek se-
 “curity under the curtains of prostitution. Every where
 “persons and property are concealed; every where the in-
 “terrupted sounds of the muffled hammer are heard striking
 “with a slow and fearful stroke.”

of them have never been heard of since ; but as some of them were known, and some still endeavour to pass upon the world for men of philosophy and humanity, they deserve to be noticed.

Petion, Manuel, and Danton had long laboured together in bringing about the second revolution, by their manœuvres at the Hotel de Ville. Marat, in the club of the Cordeliers, with Huguenin (the same who had addressed the king with insolence on the 20th of June) Panis, Ostellin, and Talien.

Robespierre, Vigaud, Panis, Bourdon, l'Huillier, of the Jacobin club, and Chabot, Merlin, and Baziere, of the legislative assembly and Jacobin club. It was with the assistance, however, of many more, that these leaders effected their cruel purpose. Agents and principals there are supposed to have been about nine hundred active persons. Some thousands, who by a wicked and cruel disposition, were led occasionally to aid in the oppressions and arrests, but not directly in the murders ; and the whole city of Paris, consisting of about one hundred thousand able bodied men, looked basely on.

The usual art of exciting an alarm was employed to frighten the people at large, as well as the national assembly.

When the assembly had discovered that the municipality was going on so fast with arrests, and that some of its members were amongst the number arrested ; and when it had reason, as M. Cambon declared afterwards, to fear that its own
safety

safety was threatened, it broke the municipality.* On the 30th the municipality sat and deliberated, and on the 31st, Petion, the beloved, the virtuous Petion, whom they had not ventured to disgrace along with the other members, arrived at the head of a deputation, and *coolly menaced the assembly* with an insurrection if they did not annul the decree. Talien delivered a discourse, which proposed plans of a conciliation of parties, and of a new organization of the municipality, so that the assembly was under the necessity of leaving its decree without execution.†

So much for the system of terror with respect to the assembly, which was threatened with the people; with respect to the people, they were threatened with the Duke of Brunswick and the King of Prussia, and Danton, the chief of the band of conspirators, by promises and threats,

* How different to break the municipality now, from the flattery bestowed on Petion the first day of the revolt, who was the conductor of the municipality. It is plain, when the assembly was guilty of such adulation to Petion, as is contained in the decree of the 10th of August, they were ignorant that they were giving themselves a master; or if they were not, the influence of fear was so great, that it overbalanced the danger that was to be apprehended from the power of Petion.

† Huguenin, who was president of the municipality, being sent for, not because he had caused three thousand respectable and innocent persons to be arrested, but because he attempted to arrest, or rather had summoned to appear, a clerk belonging to Brissot's newspaper office, declared to the assembly that the municipality had unlimited powers, that it was the representative of the sovereign of Paris.—It would be difficult to conceive an overthrow of order, authority, and right more complete than what was exhibited at this time.

procured

procured from the assembly on the 2d of September, a decree that walking commissaries should be named to execute the will and second the good intentions of the executive power, and to aid him to save the country; and that whoever refused to give up his arms, or to serve in the army, should be declared a traitor to his country, and punished with death, and also that an address to the people should be published.

Danton was no sooner furnished with those powers, than the ambulating commissaries were named, the barriers were shut, and the municipality published the following proclamation :

“ Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of Paris, Verdon can only hold out eight days, let us assemble quickly at the Champ de Mars, and there form an army of 60,000 men to march against the enemy.”

The tocsin was sounded, and the cannon of alarm fired, and the massacre ready to begin; but till a pretext is found for the first murder, the people are not sufficiently animated to second the fury of their chiefs; it is therefore necessary to find a pretext for beginning, and then all the difficulty is over.

People were dispatched into all quarters of Paris to persuade the curious and the idle, that as the prisons were full of aristocrats and suspected persons, and that necessity obliged the majority of the inhabitants to march against the enemy, it would be dangerous to leave their wives and children to be massacred by the aristocrats,

tocrats, who had a design to escape from prison, and deliver up the town to pillage, and all the horrors of which aristocrats are supposed capable.

Whilst a general terror was thus instantaneously spread through the city, while the tocsin was sounding, and every thing wore the appearance of the greatest danger, different bands of assassins, but none of them very numerous, and all of them headed by some of the Marseillois, went to different prisons.

Several carriages, leaving Paris with some of the priests who were exiled by the unjust decree we have already seen, were stopt at the gates, and carried back to the abbey prison, and the convent of Carmelites, which was also employed as a prison. As the last of these unfortunate men were descending, one of the assassins pretended that *he saw them making signs to the other prisoners*, and that a general mutiny was intended; immediately all of them, to the number of about twenty, were massacred.

The noise of this immediately spread through Paris, and served as the signal for beginning the work of carnage; it was the proof that the assassins were not opposed by the national guards, and from that instant the audacity of those who were employed to shed innocent blood was without resistance or controul.

In the convent of the Carmelites were above three hundred clergymen, against not one of whom was there any accusation, and of whom
many

many were distinguished for learning, piety, and good actions.

The Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Beauvais, and the Bishop of Saintes, whose Christian virtues were well known, were the first to fall beneath the swords of the assassins.* The active assassins were few in number, and the national guards who were at the gates, were more numerous than they.

The massacre was in the garden of the convent, adjoining to which was the chapel; there the unfortunate victims were fired upon as if they had been wild beasts in the forest, and when their assassins were fatiated with that mode of cruelty, they were all forced to enter into the chapel, from which the murderers brought them out one by one, and put to death in the garden.

Two hundred and forty-four innocent men were in this manner massacred, before eight o'clock of the Sunday evening, by a handful of murderers, and the cowardly national guards

* The murderers on their arrival called out for the Archbishop of Arles, whom they did not know, and whom none of his companions in misfortune would point out.—When at last they discovered him, one of them cried out—"So, you are the Archbishop of Arles?" "Yes, gentlemen, I am—" "Ah, wretch, it is then you who shed the blood of the patriots of Arles."—"No, gentlemen, I never shed any blood, nor did harm to any man in my life."—"Well, then, I shall shew you how I can shed your's," and at the instant he struck the venerable prelate on the forehead with his sabre; this murder was soon completed with pikes and bayonets.

blood

stood looking on.* [Note 2.] The massacre at the Abbey prison was suspended after the twenty priests who had been stopped at the barriers, but re-commenced about an hour after with the murder of the Swiss officers, who were shut up there since the 10th of August, and whose crimes, in the opinion of the people, were too well proved already to need any further inquiry.

The loyal Swiss being dispatched, the other prisoners who were very numerous and of all classes and conditions, underwent a sort of trial before a dozen judges named by the municipality. The first and chief care of this bloody tribunal was to demand the effects of the prisoners: their interrogat was short, and the execution instantaneous and cruel. Those who were condemned (and very few were not) upon suspicion, or for being related to suspected persons, were cut down with sabres by the furious murderers at the door, amidst the cries of *Vive la liberte, vive la republique*.

The number of assassins was inconsiderable here, as at the convent of Carmelites, but the circumstances are so extraordinary, and give so terrible a proof of the ferocity and depravity of the

* There were, by all accounts, even those of the party which wanted to make all Paris share in the guilt of the massacre, not above an hundred assassins; those, it has been proved, were paid, and it is certain that Manuel, the right-hand man of the mayor at that time, had three days before signified in very plain terms what was to be expected. As for the national guards, there were three times as many of them as there were of the assassins, they are at liberty to chuse between the character of inhuman cowardly foldiers or wicked accomplices.

French

French nation, that the relation so interesting, and undoubtedly true, of M. de St. Meard, formerly a captain in the regiment de roi, one of the prisoners, merits a particular attention. [*Note R.*] This gentleman was an aristocrat, and had been a privileged one, but he was also an amiable and reasonable one. Many people were massacred nevertheless, who had been less active than St. Meard against the revolution, but who had not his presence of mind to convert their opposition to the constitution into true patriotism, which, it is clear, those who overturned the constitution must have considered it to be.*

Maillard, the same who had conducted the expedition to Versailles on the 4th of October, 1789, was president of this tribunal, as Huguenin, who conducted that to the Thuilleries on the 20th of June, 1792, was at the municipality; so that the road to power and importance in this new order of things, was precisely that insurrection of which the first philosophers of the revolution vaunted so much.

As it is not of so much importance to know, in what manner the flames consume an edifice, as to know in what manner it was set on fire, and to ascertain the result of the destruction, it is necessary to seize all those circumstances which shew the connection between the first principles and the last excesses. They are easily to be seen by

* St. Meard does not, probably, venture to give the real reason for his delivery. It is probable, that the tribunal wished to let some one escape, who, by publishing his trial, might shew, that they did not put the prisoners to death without judgment, and St. Meard was the proper man.

a thousand instances, and therefore it is that La Fayette, Necker, and the first instigators of the revolution, are considered as more dangerous men than Maillard and Huguenin.

The bonds of society must already be broken, when such men as the two presidents of the massacre are capable of doing much mischief. In any regular government they could but commit a theft or a murder, and be sent to the gallows; but those who, aided by a good reputation, rank in life and friends, employ themselves in loosening the bonds of society, are really dangerous to the whole; and so dangerous, that unless a method is discovered, of protecting free governments from the attacks of FACTIOUS PHILOSOPHERS, POLITICAL DIVINES, and REFORMING PHILANTHROPISTS, free government will become impossible: the rights of men, the reveries of Rousseau, the sophisms of Seyes, led to the bloody tribunal of which we have been speaking, and to which we must yet with reluctance return.

One hundred and eighty prisoners were massacred in the Abbey, amongst whom were many ecclesiastics and gentlemen of unblemished character, and against none of whom was there any known accusation; sixty-five were dismissed, and about an equal number disappeared whose fate is uncertain; in all above 300 innocent persons.

The massacre of the Conciergerie of the Palais de Justice, where the tribunal was actually sitting, and employed in judging Major Bachman, of the Swiss guards, began nearly at the same time with
that

that of the Abbey St. Germain. Eight Swiss officers who were to have been tried, and other prisoners who were waiting their judgments, some of which latter were probably guilty, to the number of eighty-five in all, were massacred without form of process.

Two hundred prisoners,* at the prison of the Great Châtelet, shared the same fate with those already mentioned. Many of these were confined upon suspicion of forgery, or of passing false assignats, others for crimes of a private nature, but none of them had been tried or condemned.

Seventy-three condemned felons, who were to be sent to the galleys, were imprisoned in a cloister,† and there they were massacred: this served as a proof, for Petion and the other instigators of the whole, that the hatred of the people for crimes and criminals was the prime motive of action.

* Amongst these prisoners was a woman who formerly sold flowers, and who, in a fit of jealousy, had mutilated her lover, one of the revolted French guards, in a very barbarous and shameful manner. She had been condemned, but obtained a respite for some time. The rage of the murderers was redoubled on seeing the woman who had thus murdered one of their companions; she was tied to a stake, her feet nailed to the ground, her breasts cut off with a sabre, and then tortured with lighted torches and pointed instruments, in a more cruel and brutal manner than it would be fit to describe, or than any of the North American Indians treat their prisoners. This was the result of three years experience in the art of cruelty.

† The cloister St. Bernard.

The massacre of forty-five unfortunate women of the town, at the hospital or work-house of the Salpetriere, furnished another argument for the virtuous mayor and his noble accomplices in favour of the just vengeance of the people !!!

The massacre at the Bicetre, which was both a prison and an hospital, where the guilty, the sick, the wounded, and those in a deranged state of mind, were shut up together, was the longest and the most dreadful of all. This began when the others were finished.

As the great number of the prisoners and the certainty of their fate inspired them with the desire of resisting, and with some hopes of success, though in irons, they prepared for defence. The assailants brought cannons charged with grape shot to the attack, and, in the midst of slaughter and brutal insult, fired upon the prisoners confined in the courts as they ran from one side to the other to avoid destruction. They shouted applause at the number of miserables who fell at one discharge, and when they thought they were sufficiently diminished, the remainder were shot with small arms by way of amusement.

This infernal carnage lasted a week, night and day without interruption; and the number of victims certainly exceeded four-thousand, but many are of opinion they were nearer to six thousand.

Petion appeared towards the end of this terrible scene, but was not well received by the murderers. They had begun the work for his pleasure,

sure, and they determined to finish it for their own. It was thus Petion had arrived on the 20th of June to compliment the people on the *calm dignity* with which they had insulted the king; he now arrived, that on a future day he might exclaim against those massacres, should it be convenient; and the murderers seem to have been aware of his design, by the rough manner in which he was received. That strangers and posterity may never hesitate a moment in joining in this opinion, it may be well to know that the *mayor's palace* was so near to two of the prisons, that the cries of the dying could be distinctly heard from it, and that it was in the centre between all the other prisons, so that in twenty minutes he might have transported himself, with the armed force which was at his command, to any one of the scenes of slaughter.*

The massacre at the prison of the Hotel de la Force had been begun on the second of the month; but a few only were that day destroyed. Two municipal officers, Hebert and l'Huillier, presided there nearly in the same manner as Mailard did at the Abbey.

It was in this prison that the Princess de Lamballe, and the other attendants on the queen were confined. A municipal officer had thought proper to leave that princess there, when the evening before he had delivered twenty-four women, amongst whom were several of the queen's attendants.

* On the 27th of August, when the assembly suspended the municipality, the armed force of Paris was placed at the disposal of M. Petion.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the third, this princess, whose only crime was that of an unconquerable and sincere attachment to her royal mistress, and her hatred equally unconquerable to the murderer of her husband, the Duke of Orleans, was called up by two national guards, who compelled her to descend, in order that she might be transferred to another prison, though her death was determined on, and took place in less than half an hour after.*

It

* When the princess arrived at the bloody tribunal she was almost deprived of her senses, and had twice fainted away with the cries of the dying, and the horrible appearance of the murderers covered with blood. She was interrogated as follows :

Judge. Who are you ?

Princess. Maria Louisa, Princess of Savoy.

Judge. What is your employment ?

Princess. Superintendant of the queen's household.

Judge. Are you acquainted with the plots of the court on the 10th of August ?

Princess. I know not if there were any plots on the 10th of August ; but I am certain I knew of none.

Judge. Take the oath of liberty and equality, and of hatred to the king, to the queen, and to royalty.

Princess. I will readily take the two first, but I cannot take the last ; it is not in my heart.

A person who was there said in her ear, swear, or you are a dead woman. The princess lifted up her eyes without saying a word, and went towards the door. The president gave the usual sign for immediate execution (*qu'on elargisse la prisoniere*) and in an instant she was assassinated with sabres, pikes, and bayonets. Her cloaths were stripped off, and the naked body exposed to the most abominable insults. After laying for several hours as a spectacle to the curious, and a sport to the inhuman rabble, it was cut in pieces. The head was carried on a pole to the temple, and exposed to the view of the royal prisoners, who expected the same fate. The king was compelled to approach the window and look at it : the queen

It is generally believed, that this princess could have purchased her life on no other terms than that of fabricating charges against the queen ; but that, on such conditions, she would not only have been safe, but under the particular protection of the assassins. And if human nature is disgraced and degraded by the unexampled rage, brutal and beastly fury of her murders, it is ennobled by the virtuous firmness of a devoted woman, under one of the most terrible circumstances which can be conceived.

The total number of persons who suffered at the Hotel de la Force was 164.

To the massacres already related must be added that of the prisoners sent for from Orleans at the same time, on pretence of conducting them to Paris. Those prisoners sent there on suspicion for crimes of high treason, or sedition, or incivism, or for being attached to the ancient monarchy, had not been judged with that rapidity that suited the present state of the revolution. The high court of Orleans, as it was called, had been organized, and the judges named, when the revolution was not quite so far advanced in its progress towards liberty and equality ; and, being at a distance from Paris, the judges had not been able to keep pace with the Jacobin club, to which they had belonged, so that it was suspected the accused might escape punishment.

queen and Madame Elizabeth had fainted away. The Duke of Orleans gave a dinner to some English democrats that day, and he was gratified with the sight of this bloody trophy just before they set down to table.

It would be useless to relate the perfidious manner in which they were seized at Orleans, and conducted to Versailles, there to be massacred in the presence of the national guards and municipal officers, without any attempt being made to save them.

The revolution had now taken so horrible and so decided a turn; the different rulers, whether Girondists or Mountaineers,* were all so evidently culpable, and so deeply immersed in guilt, that there is neither room nor occasion for any dispute about the difference of culpability. It might do for themselves to make distinctions and to claim one action as patriotism, and blame another as oppression and injustice; but we must confess that, except to themselves, no such distinctions are apparent.

It would be useless to fatigue ourselves by following out the manœuvres of the leading parties, in order to conceal their participation; that would be supposing a possibility of doubt, concerning their guilt, when there can be none.† All that can

* It was by this latter name that the most violent party was distinguished.

† The whole number massacred from the 2nd of September till the 9th, is very nearly as under :

At the hospital of the Carmelites and St. Furmer	244
the abbey of St. Germain, - - -	180
the cloister of the Bernardins - - -	73
the Conciergerie - - - - -	85
the hospital of Saltpetriere - - -	45
the prison of the Chatelet - - -	214
the hotel de la Force - - - -	164

1005

can be admitted is, that there were some individuals who co-operated more through fear than through guilt; but that there is any difference of criminality amongst the leaders, we must absolutely deny, when the public force was ten times more than sufficient to have prevented the massacres from beginning, or to have stopped them in the first hour when begun.

If there was any one more decidedly culpable than the others, it seems to have been Danton; he was more active in this than Robespierre or Brissot, yet Robespierre has been considered since as the *ne plus ultra* of cruelty; so that we are at last obliged to confess that their criminality is *without dimension*, since it eludes all effort to measure it.

Let us turn away from these dreadful scenes a moment, and consider the language of Roland, who, as first minister, might have made an effort to stop this bloody career. Roland, who was the chief of the party, which affected to blame these excesses: from his letter we shall see that it was to the continuation of insurrection and insubordination that he attributed all this. The whole of the letter is long, and much of it consists of profession of faith, and a regard to conscience, which, if it had spoke very loudly, would

Versailles, the prisoners from Orleans	-	1005 - 47
Supposed to be massacred at the Bicetre	-	1052 4000
At the lowest		5052
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have told him that he should have been protecting his fellow creatures, and exacting obedience to the law, in preference to writing long letters on the 4th of September; but the following phrases are complete, without any thing added or taken away that may alter their meaning.

“ I know that revolutions are not to be calculated by common rules; but I know likewise, that the power which makes them ought soon to arrange itself under obedience to the law, if total destruction is not intended. The anger of the people and the movement of insurrection are comparable to the action of a torrent, which overturns obstacles which no other power is able to destroy, but of which the overspreading will carry far and wide the ravage and devastation, if it does not soon return to its usual course. The day of the 10th of August it is evident was necessary; without it we should have been lost; the court had prepared long before to complete its treasons, by spreading the standard of death over Paris, and to reign by fear. The sentiment of the people, always just and ready when its opinion is not corrupted, has averted the treason, and turned it against the conspirators.

“ It is in the nature of things, and of the human heart, that victory should be followed by a certain degree of excess; the sea, agitated by a tempest, roars after the tempest is over, but every thing has its bounds, where it ought at last to be terminated.

“ If

“ If disorganization becomes a matter of habit
 “ and custom; if men, zealous, but without
 “ knowledge and skill, pretend to mix perpe-
 “ tually with administration, and to stop its
 “ course if supported by some popular favour,
 “ obtained by a great degree of ardour, and
 “ maintained by a still greater facility of making
 “ harangues, they spread abroad, mistrust and
 “ sow calumny and accusation, excite fury, and
 “ dictate proscriptions—the government is then
 “ only a shadow, it is nothing, and a good man
 “ should retire from the helm of affairs, which
 “ he can no longer guide, and which is intend-
 “ ed for action, and not for show.”

No declaration against anarchy can be plainer than this, M. Bailly or La Fayette could not have spoken better, and it is precisely what Brissot said, six months after, when he began to lose sight of the capital, and to approach the Tarpeian rock. To make a distinction amongst the men who approve of insurrection, is an absurdity; they all agree perfectly in the principles, and only vary in the application, and that variation has only a regard to themselves. The enemy who attacks and batters down a city, when he is once in possession of the place, builds up its houses, and repairs the fortifications; and so would those who patronize revolt wish to do, but they should not liken revolt, when supported by principle, to a river that is to return to its bed; it should be likened to a fire that never ceases till all is consumed. Have not all those who have witnessed the revolution, seen that the habit of revolt was subversive of order, law, and liberty, as Roland says? and is it not evident, that what
 men

men are taught to consider as a duty, is very likely to become a habit with *good* citizens? Why then, instead of preaching eternally against revolt carried too far, and continued too long, do not they at once declare that revolt is illegal, and in place of being a duty, is a crime? This is the language evidently that ought to be spoken but each one willing to reserve to himself and friends the privilege of revolting, when to them it seems proper, refuses to make this declaration, and each one has in the end fallen a sacrifice to this terrible article of the declaration of rights.

Since the destruction of the constitution, and the cruelties which we have seen insurrection and anarchy produce, the Jacobins in other countries, who have not yet got the upper hand, have changed their batteries; they pretend to disapprove of the crimes, but they still preserve their attachment to those principles which laid the foundation, and paved the way for them; but let them not think they are to impose upon society by so flimsy a device. Petion said, that if the patriots persecuted those who did not wear red caps, that the aristocrats would put them on too, and pass for republicans, and he was probably very right. We must pay the same attention to the Jacobins, who finding it is totally impossible not to join in condemning the horrors lately committed in France, are as loud on that subject as any body else; it is not, therefore, by that, that they are to be known, but by their invariable endeavours to create discontent, and after that, quietly and calmly, under the cloak of patriotism and philanthropy, excite insurrection, or at least, by degrees, undermine regular

regular government, so as to bring on insurrection.

It was in this situation of the capital, that the elections for the national convention began ; and without doubt, it was with an intention to shew the whole nation what sort of representatives it would be safe for them to chuse, that the members of the municipality sent a circular address to all the other municipalities in the kingdom.*

The

* The letter of the municipality runs thus :

“ Brothers and Friends,

“ A terrible conspiracy having been entered into by the
 “ court to destroy all the patriots in the French empire, in
 “ which plot a great number of the members of the national
 “ assembly were concerned, obliged the common council of
 “ the city of Paris to have recourse to the power of the people, in order to save the nation. Nothing has been neglected by us, and the assembly itself has rendered honourable testimony of our conduct. But who would have
 “ thought, after that, that new conspiracies, not less atrocious, were planned in silence ; they broke out at the moment when the national assembly, forgetting the merits of
 “ the municipality, was going to dissolve it as a reward for
 “ its civism. At that news, public clamours arose from all
 “ parts, and made the assembly feel the urgent necessity of
 “ uniting itself with the people, and restoring the municipality to its former power.

“ Proud of having thus obtained fully the national confidence, which we shall always strive to deserve more and
 “ more ; placed in the centre of all the conspiracies, we
 “ shall not be fully satisfied with our conduct until we shall
 “ have obtained your approbation, the object of all our
 “ views, and which we shall not think ourselves certain of
 “ possessing, until all the departments shall have sanctioned
 “ the measures which we have taken to save the nation.

“ Professing the purest principles of the most perfect equality, desiring no other privilege than that of being the
 first

The atrocity is equal to any thing that is to be found in history, both for the falsities it contains, and for the sentiments, if they can be called by that name.

It is perfectly evident by this letter, which was circulated under the counter-sign of Danton,

“ first to immolate ourselves for the good of our country,
 “ we shall be ready to put ourselves on a level with the
 “ smallest municipality of the state, the moment that our
 “ country shall have nothing more to fear from the multi-
 “ tudes of ferocious enemies who approach the capital.

“ We, the commons of Paris, hasten to inform our bro-
 “ thers and friends of all the departments, that a part of
 “ the ferocious conspirators detained in the prisons, has been
 “ put to death by the people, *an act of justice* which appear-
 “ ed to them indispensable to keep in awe those legions of
 “ traitors who are concealed within our walls, at the mo-
 “ ment when the patriots were about to march against the
 “ enemy and without doubt the whole nation will adopt the
 “ measure, after so long a train of treasons have conducted
 “ us to the borders of the abyss, which was so necessary for
 “ the public safety, and that every Frenchman will cry out
 “ with the Parisians, let us march against the enemy, but do
 “ not let us leave behind us traitors who will murder our
 “ wives and children. Friends and Brothers, we expect
 “ that some of you will come to our assistance, and help us
 “ to repulse the numerous legions of tyrants who have sworn
 “ the destruction of the French. We shall jointly save our
 “ country, and we shall owe you the praise of having saved
 “ it from the brink of ruin.

(“ Signed,)

“ The administrators of the committee of public
 “ safety, and the administrators adjoined, Pier-
 “ re Duplain, Panis, Serjent, l'Infant, Jour-
 “ daill, Marat l'ami du peuple, de Torgas, le
 “ Clerc, Dufortre, Celly, constituted by the
 “ commons of Paris, and sitting at the house
 “ of the Mayor of Paris.”

the

the minister of justice, that the intention of its writers was to procure the approbation of the whole nation, to the massacres which they avowed, and to make similar measures to be adopted, as they plainly express themselves; giving for a reason, the necessity of protecting their wives and children from having their throats cut by the prisoners in the different jails.

At this time there were more than seventy thousand suspected persons in the different prisons in France, and the Jacobin club wrote to all its correspondents, to second this purification, as they called it, of the kingdom.

The address from the national assembly, and this from the municipality and Jacobin club, were circulated all through the kingdom, and it was under the impressions which such productions were capable of inspiring, that the assemblies were held for choosing the representatives for the national convention.

We see how the same arts have all along been practised to prevent the proprietors and lovers of peace from assisting at elections. The sans culottes, or rabble had completely triumphed, and they proclaimed in one breath their sanguinary victory and their sanguinary intentions; so that moderate men hid their heads, and the convention was chosen of the vilest, the most despicable, and most desperate men in the kingdom.

The robberies which were committed during all these arrests and murders, are easily to be conceived; the numbers whom fear and danger
drove

drove out of the country were immense, and the municipal officers and members of the Jacobin club who gave them, or procured for them passports, enriched themselves by the exaction of enormous sums, and the nation by the forfeiture of the estates of those who fled.* Certainly those emigrants who left France under such circumstances, are not to be accused either of want of courage or want of loyalty; France was no longer habitable for any but brigands, and it is only matter of wonder that so few emigrated.

While all these things were going on, M. Claviere, placed at the head of the contributions, only for the sake of appearances, as no contributions were levied, set about laying other nations under contribution, by negotiations upon the different changes in Europe.

Agents were sent to London, Amsterdam, Madrid, and to every country, who had orders to negotiate bills on Paris, payable (as all the world knows) in assignats. Those bills being discounted in foreign countries, the value in *specie* was remitted to France: when they became due, they were paid according to the course of exchange, but before this could be converted into gold or silver, a few assassins were hired to patrol the streets, and threaten all those who sold gold

* Five thousand pounds sterling were frequently given only for a passport, and many gave five hundred and lesser sums, so that the municipal officers who came into place, some of them without shoes, soon became rich.

or silver;* three of these sellers lost their lives, and many were pillaged; at other times, when the change was wanted, to be raised on purpose to draw new bills, Claviere sent men to offer more gold for sale than was wanted. This operation, which is easily conceived by those who understand any thing of the course of exchange, was called pumping the banks. A great part of the bankruptcies of 1793, in England, were occasioned by this operation, which had made gold scarce in London; and if an end had not been put to it by the war, or some other cause, there is no saying to what a pitch it might have been carried, for the merchants on the Change of London did not perceive the snare; and though they were astonished at the course of exchange grew more favourable to France while the Duke of Brunswick was marching to Paris, yet the hope of gaining by a quick operation, led them into speculations which must have been very hurtful to many individuals, and were fraught with ruin to the nation.

It was about the same time that the garde-meuble, containing all the jewels of the crown, was robbed by the patriots of the assembly; and as the time was foreseen, when paper would no longer serve to buy the necessaries of life, which became every day more rare, every effort was made to heap up gold and silver in the mint.

* The gold and silver were sold by porters in the streets, some of whom sold for their own account, but most of them for monied men, who did not appear. Sometimes they were encouraged in this traffic, and sometimes chased away. Some were even massacred, and gold fell or rose in price according to the risk run by these men.

Had the nations of Europe taken any pains to study the manœuvres of these revolutionary gentlemen, a great part of their plans would have been frustrated; but no pains were taken by any nation: and if it had been possible for the Girondist or Gascon party to have kept insurrection under, so as to let their plans have time fully to operate, matters would have been much worse than they were with other nations.

It will be considered, no doubt, as a very singular circumstance, that, though the conduct of the rulers of France was such as all men, since the days of Nero and Caligula, have joined in condemning, yet, in every other nation in Europe, their agents were treated with a certain sort of distinction by certain men, who pretend a greater love for justice and of a pure constitution, and a greater zeal for the welfare of the people, than any others. In England, M. Chauvelin, who had been sent as ambassador by Louis XVI. became the charge d'affaire of Santerre, Panis, and Petion, and yet every door in England was not shut against him, for even some friends of the people entered his door; and if an ill-conducted, and hitherto unsuccessful but necessary war, had not put an end to the intrigues, which the daring French agents were encouraged and seconded in here, we should, in all probability, long ere now have had a committee of brewers and blackguards sitting at the Mansion-house, and giving orders to arrest all rich and respected persons, to shut up the Change, and massacre all the prisoners in the jails of the kingdom. We have seen the results of philosophical maxims, and we find, that the commanders of the massacres

facres of September do not, on account of the innocent blood that they have spilt, abate one degree of their claims to the title of patriots ; on the contrary they celebrate those horrors by new names invented for the purpose, and interlard their addreffes to the people with the fame declaration of virtue, confcience, and purity of intention, that are to be found coming from the mouths of all patriots.*

* Sovereign justice, the fovereign murderers, Septemberizers, purifying meafures. Such were the names given by the *bravading* murderers to the crimes of their companions.

C H A P. II.

Beginning of the reign of Robespierre—Robespierre vindicated against the revolutionists, the aristocrats, and the whole of mankind—The trial of the king—Probable motive—Vanity of democrats—Success of the republican armies—Condemnation and death of the king—New tumults in the convention, and fall of Brissot's party.

THE reign of terror was now begun, and all parties took a more or less active hand in it ; but the revolutionists themselves were not purified ; terror was not yet organised and reduced to a system, it was not completely spread over the kingdom, it had only come to perfection in Paris, and it was to Robespierre, that much calumniated man, that human nature, but above all, the French nation, has the obligation of reducing to method and system, what all parties contended was right, but what they all alledged might sometimes be abused, There is nothing like theory and system for preventing abuse, and this Robespierre, so much feared during his life, and calumniated since his death, perceiving, started from the obscurity in which he had for some time

time been,* to establish upon a more regular and solid basis the blessings of liberty, equality, terror and the guillotine.

It might please Brissot, Danton, Hebert, and all the other heads of parties, who were crushed by Robespierre, to declaim against him. It may please Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, who have seen him fall in his turn under their power, to blame the conduct of Robespierre.—The former, as well as the latter, had personal reasons, and were actuated by malice, but to a true revolutionary philanthropist, to a man who approves of the revolutionary measures adopted in France, MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE will seem not only a blameless but an illustrious and distinguished character.

Let us examine the claims of this man to the gratitude of the revolutionists, and we shall find that they are very great; he is now no more, he has now as many enemies as he formerly had slaves, but those who were never his slaves, are not obliged to be his enemies.

Robespierre, as an inventor, has great merit; he first thought of fixing a price, called the maximum, upon all articles useful in common life, that the poor might have them at a cheap price.

A philosopher had invented the guillotine out of mere humanity, and a philosophical assembly

* Robespierre did not appear to take any *active* part in the massacres of the 10th of August.

had decreed that it should be the instrument of national justice ; but Robespierre invented wheels to this machine, that the villages and country might partake of the blessing ; he attached to it ambulant commissaries and judges, who might administer justice with as great promptitude as the sacred instrument inflicted punishment.*— Thus were liberty and equality extended, and the meanest peasant could now see the philosophical instrument of national vengeance and justice in his own village.†

Had not riches been long considered as a crime against liberty and equality ? and did not Robespierre abolish the bank, shut up the Change, sequestrate the India Company's magazines, and make it the crime of death for any citizen to be possessed of gold or silver ? and did he not encourage the servant to denounce his master, and the son his father ?

Had not the constituent assembly in the fulness of its wisdom and philosophy decreed, that the hangman should be an active citizen, and be upon a par with the first prince of the blood ; that the king and the heir apparent alone should be

* A Frenchman said, that though others had invented the revolution, Robespierre set it to regular music.

† Some aristocrats think that Henry IV. whose ambition was to see every peasant in France have a pullet in his pot on Sunday, was a better sort of ambition ; but such are greatly mistaken, for there is no disputing about tastes. In the barbarous days of the gallant Henry, the French cried, *Vive le roi et la bonne chere* ; in the days of Robespierre they cried out, *Vive la guillotine, vive la mort*. So each pleased the nation in the way that suited its taste at the time.

superior

superior to him? and did not the place of hangman become lucrative and honourable in the time of Robespierre's power? Have not virtuous candidates for that office been seen canvassing for votes, as we do at an election for a county member in England? And might not this be said to be the maximum of philosophy, and the minimum of prejudice? was it not a fair triumph of the new principles over the old ridiculous notions? and is there any thing so brilliant or so great in the reign of the Emperor Augustus, so boasted and so admired? What are fine arts and stately palaces compared to the perfection of the human mind when it gets rid of human prejudice?

Did not the aristocracy of rich merchants in great cities offend the lovers of perfect equality? and did not Robespierre make war on all the rich merchants and great towns of France? Did not Lyons, the populous, the wealthy, and the industrious, see its proud buildings levelled with the ground; and its inhabitants, who opposed themselves to the system of equality and the destruction of property, put to flight, or to death, by thousands at a time? Did not the richest inhabitants of Bourdeaux, of Nantz, of Marseilles, and of Strasburg, depose their wealth upon the altar of the country in presence of the guillotine? and did not those who refused to part with their property lose their lives? and were not their widows and their children turned adrift to seek for food and raiment where they could find it? After this who can complain of the revolutionary conduct of Robespierre, and of his love for equality? and who can accuse the man who had
the

the courage to put in practice what the others had only the courage to contrive?

But the merits of this great man exceed all that can be said of him; did he not only invent the revolutionary government, that is to say, contrived the means of giving permanency to the revolutionary measures on the 10th of August, and the massacres of September? Did not he organise the revolutionary tribunal, which conducted on an average thirty people a day to the guillotine in Paris, and over all France many more? Did not he gratify the Parisian taste, which was changed from that of plays and operas, to that of shedding blood, by affording a public representation *gratis* every day, where blood was shed, and where the nation had the double enjoyment of contemplating the sufferings of the condemned, and reflecting on his forfeited riches, when the ragged sans culotte, that honourable character, exulted in the double enjoyment of national vengeance, and of being one of the heirs of the condemned victim?*

Did not Robespierre compel, by the system of terror, all the youth of the nation, to go and combat the combined despots of Europe? and did he not establish revolutionary armies, who,

* When these things are fairly considered, all this looks more like a dream than a reality, and yet nothing is more true; Robespierre used to say, when he was told he was too severe upon the rich with the guillotine, Let me alone, I am coining money. Three strokes of the guillotine were estimated upon one occasion at twenty-two millions by Barrere, in a report to the convention. O France, it will be difficult to wipe away those stains. Philosophy will never more have religion to reproach for the cruelties it has occasioned!

when

when equality and happiness could not with all its efforts be attained, *realised equality in misery*, and so brought the sacred reign of equality nearer to full perfection than it had ever before been.

Was not kingly power disclaimed by the French nation, and did not Robespierre murder the sovereign, his queen, and his sister, and that merely upon revolutionary principles, and without deigning to consult what ignorant superstitious people in former times had considered as natural justice or established law? was not this the last triumph of your principles, and the true end of your insurrections, and yet you have dared to accuse him, to resist his will and to blacken his memory?

If Robespierre is fully cleared in the eyes of revolutionary men of all countries, as he ought to be let us see what the aristocrats have to say against him? Ought not they also to praise the man who has avenged their cause upon so many of their enemies? Can any lover of order blame the man who purged the world of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Camille de Moulins,* of Hebert, the atrocious Hebert, of the Duke of Orleans, of Brissot, Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire; who dispersed the sanguinary ministers, Roland, Le Brun, Claviere, and Servan: who condemned Pétion and his companion Manuel, Cloutz the Prussian, and whole squadrons of murdering

* These two were Danton's secretaries during the massacres of September; they were afterwards members of the convention.

philosophers? During the reign of Robespierre, did not Barnave fall, and would not every one of the first instigators to murder and pillage have fallen? and did not Robespierre, like Samson, terrible in his death as he had been in his life, drag one hundred and forty-seven of the most culpable citizens of Paris with him, after having done what was still of greater importance, carried revolutionary principles as far as they could go, and thereby changed the minds of men with respect to their wisdom and justice? Did not Robespierre shew all reasonable men, that liberty and equality, on the French plan, was a mere chimera, a philosophical dream, and thereby prepare the way for returning reason and peace?*

Such are the obligations which the aristocrats owe to Robespierre for what he did; but when it is considered what he intended to have done; when it is considered that he had proscribed Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Talien, (the Adonis Talien, who was so active at the massacres of September) and all the remainder of the bloody tribe, and that he meant to have reigned alone, and have purged the world of all monsters but

* The services rendered by Robespierre to the cause of order, are far from being imaginary, he, in fact, shewed the revolutionary system in its full horror, and disgusted Jacobins with Jacobinism; so that two things only now maintain the revolution, the first in the difficulty of establishing order, under a republican form, and the desire of keeping the lands of the emigrants, which, were kingly government to be restored, would, they apprehended, be impossible. Certain it is, that all France confesses they have been sadly oppressed, and that a great portion, at least of the country, is completely cured of *la maladie de 1789*.

self

himself; must you not allow, that for what he did, what he was the cause of being done, and what he intended to do, Maximilian Robespierre deserves your thanks?*

The whole world should join in gratitude to Robespierre for his conduct during the last month of his life; when he found the moment was arrived when it was necessary to overturn the convention, and to fix despotism on a terrible and solid basis, he abandoned his post in the convention, in the committees, and applied to the JACOBIN CLUB; it was from that, and that alone, that he expected an energetic and effectual support; he has therefore established beyond dispute, what, indeed, the whole of the revolution has confirmed, *that a political club, with affiliations and correspondences, and that claims the right of interfering in affairs of government, is the greatest enemy of the real freedom.* He has shewn the ruin and misery in its full extent, to which men are reduced by encouraging revolt; to add to his other services, he has drawn down along with him the ruin of the Jacobin club.

We have already said, that the history of the Jacobins becomes less interesting as the revolution advanced. We are now come to that period where, as all men must be nearly of one opinion about the infamy of their manœuvres, their minute examination becomes less necessary. We

* During the reign of Robespierre, there were full as many revolutionists guillotined as there were loyalists, and it was the chosen revolutionists who excelled the others that he persecuted the most. They were friends in principles, but rivals in persons.

shall, therefore, in a rapid manner, follow them through the last stage of excess and crime, which will serve fully to shew, that if insurrection is a sacred duty, it is also one that is attended with very serious consequences.

The repulse of the Prussian army gave the convention and the nation a little time to breathe, and this time was occupied by the convention in making a decree to excite the subjects of all nations to revolt, in considering the plans laid down by Brissot, Condorcet, and Clootz, for universal conquest and an universal republic, and for bringing to the scaffold the imprisoned monarch.* Audacity had now succeeded to fear, and all nations were openly put at defiance.† It is more than

* The cruelty of the nation in shedding the blood of the king, had not the excuse alledged for the cruelties of August and September, that of the fear of their enemies and the approach of the Prussian army; on the contrary, during the trial of the king, the French armies were victorious, and had over-run Flanders and Brabant with an almost unexampled degree of success. This is a proof, that if the French nation is cruel when in fear, it is no less so when victorious; and this is the best answer that can be given to those persons, who affect to throw the blame of the cruel government of France upon the fear excited by combined powers.

† It was just at the same moment that all this was happening, that the English friends of French liberty sent over two ambassadors to present the convention with a congratulatory address, and their soldiers with 2000 pairs of shoes. It was at this time, that Mess. Paine and Priestley were chosen members of the convention, and never was the system of universal fraternity conceived by M. Clootz, or the destruction of kingly government preached up by the different societies, so likely to be carried into effect: the massacres of September had only whetted the appetite of those gentlemen, they had

than probable, that the vanity of shewing all Europe how little its menaces were regarded, caused the convention, without visible motives, without any just reason, and even contrary to its apparent interest, to determine on the trial of one of the most innocent, most virtuous, and most unfortunate of kings. Such as know the audacious vanity of the Parisian Jacobins, and their ferocity, will not be surpris'd at this. Time may, perhaps, unveil some other cause for the cruel deed, but until there is a certainty of the existence of such a cause, it is fair to assign that which is the most probable.

There is no doubt but that the republic might be considered by the convention as being more certain when the king should no longer exist; but this is contradicted by the votes of a great number of determined republicans, who did not vote for death, but imprisonment or banishment.*

had smelt the blood across the channel, and, as the poet Klopstock said, they longed to approach their victims, that they might with a dry eye contemplate the last convulsion, and indulge their ears with the last groan.

* The Gironde party was composed of the real republicans, the Mountain was composed of anarchists, and men who only wanting blood and pillage, had not any fixed notions about government at all; it was the Mountain that voted for the punishment of death; those of the other parties, less sanguinary, but likewise less bold, were induced to vote by the calculations about their own personal safety. The Mountain was with government as it was with religion, it wished to overturn that which existed, without any fixed plan for establishing another in its place.

Another

Another reason for thinking so, is, that the convention, eager to decree liberty and equality, and to establish licence, has shewn no sort of impatience to establish any sort of law or government, and therefore the death of the king was not a measure of so pressing a nature as to require haste. It must either have been meant to gratify vanity, as we have said, to defy the powers of Europe, or to render the whole nation unanimous in defending the republic.

It would be to suppose, that men have two different opinions on this subject, which is not the case, to enter into any arguments relative to the cruelty and injustice of the sentence. The whole human race, though not by the organ of the representative citizen Cloutz, has testified its detestation of the convention, and its admiration of the calm firmness and moderate virtue of the king.

The reign of Robespierre seems to have displayed the ultimatum of human depravity and folly under a republican form, and to have exalted royalty, by displaying in a dethroned king an unexampled degree of human moderation and virtue. Humanity has suffered much, but posterity may gain a great deal. France has been a melancholy example, and it is to be hoped, that all mankind will profit by it, to the exclusion of those principles which only tend to make men criminal and miserable.

“ If plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven’s design,
“ Why then a Borgia or a Cataline ?

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The progress of mind in individuals, and in mankind at large, is the same; and it was natural, that as knowledge increased men should arrive at that dangerous point where experience is abandoned and despised, and where they give themselves up to theory. This happens to most young men who have got a liberal education, when first they throw off the trammels of the college or the school; but time and experience, (and often adversity) bring them back to reason. France had attained this point of knowledge; and perhaps the violence of the malady, by shortening its duration, will in the end be a blessing to mankind. The impetuosity of the French will serve equally as a means of exhausting themselves, and of discouraging their cotemporaries or posterity from ever abandoning themselves entirely to theory.

It was during the latter months of 1792 that the efforts of the revolutionary emissaries were the most strenuous in London, and in the other great cities of England. Government had been so completely overturned in France, and the possession of power and property had been so completely attained by the revolutionary banditti, that their courage and audacity were beyond all bounds. Every country* contains men who wish for changes, and who expect to gain by revolutions;

* In proportion as the general run of the inhabitants of a country are dabblers in learning and metaphysics, the Jacobin principles have been admired—in Scotland more than in England, at Berlin more than at Vienna. It was long the wish of the Jacobins to persuade the people, that men of learning and genius admired the revolution. The famous Abbe Raynal

volutions; such naturally united their efforts to the French emissaries through inclination; but the French emissaries had money at command; and it is as certain as any thing that has not actually taken place can be, that a revolution was on the point of breaking out in England. The French *organization* was begun, men had their different posts assigned to them, and
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was said to be an ardent admirer of it, and a curious enough scene took place in consequence of this. Raynal arrived in Paris by accident in the year 1791, and sent a letter to the assembly; the president of which, either through negligence, or with a design to play the assembly a trick, announced the letter without having previously examined it. The constituent philosophers, expecting congratulations on their wisdom, called out with one voice to have it read. The president began, but what were the mortification and surprise of the lawgivers, when they found it contained one of the most bitter and well-founded criticisms on their conduct that ever was written. A great disturbance took place; the president was interrupted and abused;* he was accused of aristocracy and knavery. A long debate ensued, but the insult being public already, it was determined to hear the letter out, and to treat the writer as a dotard who had lost his senses. The letter itself was a proof that the old philosopher had neither lost that justness of idea nor elegance of expression for which he has been so deservedly famous; but Gorsas, and all the scribblers of the Jacobin society, set upon him, and endeavoured to prove, that he was not only a fool but even a thief, and every thing that was bad. Raynal, not trusting much to their humanity, wisely set off next morning, concealing the route which he took.

Amongst the patents of French citizenship, such as were sent to Dr. Priestly, Thomas Paine, Mr. Wilberforce, and some others, the assembly sent one to the German poet Klopstock, famous for his philanthropy. His answer is thus:

* It was a secretary, in fact, that was reading.

the signal only was wanting to make rebellion break forth.

Happily for England, the ministers were not in the same lethargy that those of Louis XVI. had been in the year 1789. We should have soon found

THE POET KLOPSTOCK TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

“ Moderators of the French empire !

“ I send back to you with horror those titles of which I was so proud, while I could think that they united me to a society of brothers and friends to humanity. Alas ! the deception is but too soon vanished away, and most afflicting reality is come, to put an end to a delusive dream. Alas ! I had vainly imagined, that from the distant borders of the Seine that light should come, which would one day give an eclat to the happy reign of liberty amongst European nations.

“ Why have you deceived me ? *Your rights of man were only a snare laid to make Frenchmen fall, that they might be the more easily assassinated.* Learn, then, that the excess of your barbarism and of your crimes has placed an eternal barrier between you and the poets of happy Germany. When they are told those tragical adventures which disgrace your sanguinary history, they are affrighted and fly away. There is no connection now between us, you have broken for ever the last of the bands which connected us together.

“ I pity those who call themselves citizens, and who shed torrents of the blood of citizens. O crime ! when they have shed blood they dance around their victim ; they contemplate with a dry eye the last convulsion ; they approach nearer to indulge their ears with the last groan.

“ Frenchmen, I turn away with affright from that impious troop which is guilty of assassination, by looking on the peaceable witnesses of murder. I fly far off from the cries of that execrable tribunal which murders, not only the victim, but which murders also the mercy of the people.”

Such

found plenty of leaders start up, but there was no friend in the king's cabinet. The chancellor of the exchequer was not a vain, disgusted foreigner like M. Necker, and we were saved. The malcontents in this country had one circumstance in their favour, which those in France had not when they began ; they had a powerful nation to support them with men and with money, and who knew the method of employing agents, who were eternally repeating their favourite maxim of *ce n'est que le premier pas que coûte*, and they expected to overturn the throne of England, as easily as they had taken the Bastile.

It is true, that all this has been treated as a fiction by those who felt mortified at its want of success ; but how could we expect them to treat it otherwise, when we see their masters at Paris treat as a fiction what had happened in the next street, and maintain as a truth what had never happened at all ?

There were at this time only two methods left for England to pursue, the one was to act as she has done, and the other to let French emissaries and French assignats rob us of every thing. The question of the justice and necessity of the war has been often discussed ; it is sufficient, however, to observe, that as the Jacobin principle decidedly is, that " those that are not for us are against us," there was no medium (as those who are ene-

Such is the energetic letter of the old and virtuous Klopstock ; he had not attained the pitch of Condorcet and his companions, and they very probably considered him as a fool and a dotard. This is not quite so consoling as the address of the English deputies with the 2000 pair of shoes.

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mies of the war pretend) as they plainly shewed by the example of Spain, which offered them peace; but as she did not propose fraternity, by establishing Jacobin clubs and revolutionary tribunals, war was proclaimed against her without any sort of ceremony.

Amongst the daring attempts of the revolutionists to attack the peace of other nations, one of the most blameable was the sending an army against the republic of Geneva, and we have only our own numbers and the British channel to thank for our not having been treated in the same manner.

It is a very singular thing, that men who pass over all these circumstances with as great silence as if they had never happened, have the effrontery to consider France as a persecuted and attacked nation. Do they think, that they are sitting at the mayor's house in Paris, and writing to all the municipalities of France, to tell them, that the palace of the Thuilleries had laid a plan to murder all the patriots in the kingdom? or, what do they think? Is it possible to believe that France, which in an open or in an underhand measure was attacking the government of every nation in Europe, and endeavouring to introduce the Septemberizing system and the revolutionary government, where peace and order had hitherto reigned, could itself expect to meet with no resistance? No, it is impossible: and to be convinced that it did not, we have but to read what Brissot says on that subject, in his publication in the month of May following. Brissot was one of the great diplomatic
conductors

conductors at the time of which we are now speaking, and his testimony may be taken; he knew the truth and he had no motive for concealing it; at least could have none for writing as he did.

Brissot was accused of being one of the causes of the war with England; and he did not refute the charge; far less did he pretend to say, that England had declared war upon France without provocation. He has been on many occasions sufficiently lavish of his abuse both of England and of English ministers. It is, therefore, something singular, that we find amongst ourselves people who will affirm what this daring leader of the party never ventured to do, or, which he thought it would be necessary to attempt doing.

In proportion as the victorious French army advanced in Austrian Flanders and Brabant, Jacobin clubs* were established; the generals and French commissaries were the patrons, and the presidents and the soldiers mixed with the members. The armies were accompanied by Jacobin orators, and followed by printing presses. The proprietors of Belgium were robbed by the introduction of French assignats; but they were terrified and remained silent, because those who

* The King of Prussia's army having been once repulsed, there was no single body of troops capable of making any resistance, which is a proof that the Emperor, so far from having exceeded the number of troops which by treaty he was intitled to have upon that frontier, had not availed himself of his rights in this respect. This motive alledged for the war declared against him, therefore, falls to the ground.

had nothing, the virtuous fans culottes, were advocates of the French system, because they were determined to establish clubs and principles of equality.*

To the revolution of the 10th of August, the massacres of September, and the successes of the French arms in repulsing the Austrians and Prussians, succeeded a few months of less active operation.

The winter months were employed in endeavouring to amass all the gold and silver in the kingdom in the treasury of the convention; in organizing the sale of the lands of emigrants, to insure the value of assignats, and in bringing to the scaffold the unfortunate king.

As long as the world remains, or, at least, so long as men read the history of what has happened, the convention will be severely reproached for the injustice, the inhumanity, and the impolicy of putting to death their king. None of the charges that, for the sake of form, were brought against him, had any foundation either in law or in fact. The king had acted as he had a right to do previous to the acceptance of the constitution; and after that, he was the only man in the king-

* Brissot, who was one of the French leaders at the time, and for several months after, tells us that assignats were advanced at par there, (they were 50 per cent. below par at Paris) that the Belgians considered it but as a double robbery, but that the convention distributed large sums amongst the vagabonds of Brussels to make them drunk, and to buy proselytes; and that the dregs of the people, flattered with the hopes of equality with their superiors, and assembled in clubs, reduced them to silence, to inactivity.

dom who had remained faithful to it.* Those who tried Louis for treason were themselves traitors; they had betrayed the nation: they accused him of tyranny and despotism, when they and their co-adjutors alone were the tyrants and despots of the nation: they accused him of shedding innocent blood, when in one half-hour they immolated to their own ambition and revenge more victims, than there had fallen criminals under the severity of the law, during the whole reign of the king.

* It was not only a circumstance fit to inspire us with admiration of the French king, but it is a phenomenon which must excite astonishment, that, amongst a vast number of his servants, some of his former friends, and thousands of people who had access to know his conduct from his earliest youth, none could produce any one arbitrary act or accusation against him. We did not speak of the Red Book, as it was called, that is, the list of pensions given by the court, at the time that affair was discussed by the constituent assembly, because it had turned out not to contain half the waste of public money that had been asserted and apprehended by the enemies of the court. Louis XVI. was, in fact, a rigid economist in principle, and it would appear that the waste of public money was never made with his consent, but that the same goodness which made him wish to spare his people had led him into the unwarrantable and ruinous habitude of paying the debts of the princes, and of some other persons about court. We say unwarrantable, because it is worse in its ultimate consequences than granting pensions upon the state; but, at the same time, the feeling under which it is done, exculpates the doer with respect to his intentions. What would have been refused to support extravagance, is granted to pay needy creditors, and relieve from thralldom an extravagant, but often an amiable debtor; and thus a new letter of credit is given to that same extravagance of which it seldom fails to make use. Had the other princes of the House of Bourbon been guided by the same principles with their illustrious chief, he would not have lost his life in a revolution which their great expenses had accelerated.

The hard treatment of the king, during his confinement, as well as the mock trial by which he was brought to the scaffold, are well known. On that head there is but one opinion in all Europe, and amongst all ranks of people; but it is not so well known by what methods his enemies contrived to lull all France, and particularly the inhabitants of Paris, into a sort of sleep, till it was too late to prevent the execution of this sanguinary project.

The ruling party in the assembly, in the club, and at the Hotel de Ville, had one thing still to fear. The great majority of France, it was known, was not only against any violence being done to the king, but disapproved in reality of the 10th of August, and all that had been done since then. The assassination of the king might therefore, serve as a signal for the majority to break forth, and by uniting in one single point, crush their adversaries.

To prevent so dangerous a point of re-union, the assembly discussed the question in a way that made the generality of the people believe that imprisonment or banishment would be the utmost extent of their vengeance. The king was long since a prisoner, and the formality of a mock trial, and condemnation to continue a prisoner, did not appear to be any great subject for alarm; as for banishment, it appeared to all as a sentence to be wished for. The trial of the king was so conducted, as, by holding up these two sorts of punishment, the sentence of death was not much feared until the trial approached very near its end; and then the precipitate execution prevented the

the possibility of any effort on the part of the departments of France.

The people of Paris were next to be lulled asleep; the Jacobin method is always to do this by giving hopes, and letting it be understood by their emissaries, that more is to be feared from opposing them, than from letting them act quietly.*

It would be paying the cowardly people of Paris a compliment they do not deserve, to say that they might probably have rescued their king, if they had been certain that his death was decided upon; but, though those who were determined on bringing him to the block could not have any great reason to apprehend resistance from a city which had been perfectly passive in the arrests of August and massacres of September, and which was daily submitting to unheard-of oppression; yet Petion, and the conductors of this transaction, wished once more to make assurance doubly sure; and it was artfully circulated in Paris that the king was only meant to be carried to the place of punishment for the sake of form, and in order to impress kings in general with a proper awe for the sovereignty of the peo-

* Orders were given in Paris on the day of execution, which followed immediately that of the condemnation, to fire upon the carriage where the king was, upon the least appearance of any movement amongst the people in his favour; it was, therefore, impossible at that stage of this melancholy business for any of his friends to shew themselves, even if they had been inclined. There are many people who boast that they intended to make an effort; but on that side of the question there has been so much boasting and so little acting, that it is difficult to give any credit to these gentlemen.
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ple of France. This was circulated, and, by obtaining credit, prevented any attempt from being made towards a rescue, if any such thing was intended.* The cruel and ferocious conductors of this affair had given orders publicly, that on the least attempt in favour of fallen majesty, the king should instantly be sacrificed ; so that, under the absolute certainty on one hand of the order given for this purpose, and the hope inspired of pardon on the other, the people of Paris, who looked calmly on were not so much to be blamed as they have been on many other occasions. But the censure, from which the refinement of Jacobin cunning rescues them on this occasion, will not wipe away the eternal stain of cowardice which their tame submission to his murderers after the deed, has brought upon them.

The Jacobins,† always decided in their own plans, are remarkable for the address with which they prevent their enemies from uniting in
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* So much were many people convinced that the king would not be executed, that many wagers were laid on the place where it was done, that, on the moment of his preparation for the last punishment, his pardon would be demanded and proclaimed. It was, indeed, very silly in any one to believe such a report, but that does not alter the fact, it was believed. It is well known that the quickness of that mode of execution is so great, that, if the error was perceived even before it took place, it would have been so very small an interval between that discovery and the execution, that there could be no possibility of effecting a rescue.

† The method of dividing the nobility from the clergy, the high clergy from the low clergy, and the bankers and rich merchants from both, is a master-piece of cunning, and

one opinion and in one will, and, therefore, in one determined effort ; knowing where their own strength lays, they exert their utmost skill to deprive their opponents of the same advantage. We shall see that, with regard to the coalesced powers, they have acted in the same manner ; and that the coalesced powers have let themselves be duped upon various occasions by the same artifices that have perpetually enslaved the majority in France to a minority of turbulent republicans.

It has been asserted by many, and believed by some, that an attempt was made to persuade the king himself that he should *not* be put to death.* The thing is probable enough ; but, that he never

was admirably well executed. The intention was in the end to treat them all in the same way, for war was meant against all property, not against any one kind of property in particular. Nevertheless the proprietors and rich people fell into the snare. Previous to their invasion of foreign territories, the French proposed to declare war against castles, but protection for cottages, and this on purpose to separate the two classes of inhabitants, that they might equally oppress both. It has only been the experience of their real intention that undeceived their neighbours with regard to the pretended one.

* It has been the constant custom of the Jacobin party that ruled, to give hopes of pardon to their victims during the trial, and so prevent them from speaking out things that it might not be convenient to hear. When judgment is once passed, the promptitude of the execution is great ; besides it is a rule with these republicans not to pollute their ears with hearing what a condemned criminal has to say. Where justice is the object, people are eager to hear what the condemned man has to say before he is launched into eternity ; but tyrants stop their mouths ; and in this respect, as well as in many others, the rulers of France have acted like other tyrants.

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listened to such a delusive hope one moment, is certain; for the firmness of his behaviour, his calmness and resignation, prove beyond reply that his mind was divided or acted upon by no opposite passions.

The death of the unfortunate Louis put the seal to the massacre of the prisoners and the priests; and shewed in the most plain and decided manner, that the ruling party in France had determined to stop at nothing short of the total destruction of all those who stood in the way of what they call liberty and equality. This bloody deed was throwing down the gauntlet to all the governments of Europe, and to all good men; it was a plain declaration that justice was laid aside, and that the destruction of government and of order was fully determined upon. The people of France had been at great pains, as we have seen, to lead all the nations of Europe into the errors of which they themselves boasted, but of which they were ashamed, and for the ultimate consequences of which they trembled; but, by this one action, they destroyed a great part of their own work. Employed during several years in deceiving Europe by filling their ears with falsities, they, by one single action opened the eyes of all who were not blinded by their own passions and interest.

The justice of this action was out of the question, it was impossible to deceive people by calling Louis a traitor and a tyrant.* It was impossible
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* Even the party of Girondists treat the king as a tyrant, although they throw his murder upon the party of Robespierre.

to shew, that there were any grounds for his condemnation ; it was impossible to prevent the whole world from perceiving the contrast between the virtuous resignation of an innocent victim, and the ferocious vengeance of his accusers and murderers. This one action shewed, that kings could be virtuous and republicans unjust, and it was impossible to lay the crime upon the effervescence, the hurry of the moment, or the mistake of patriots ; it was therefore necessary plainly and fairly to avow it as their voluntary act, and as such, to give all Europe the measure of their iniquity.*

Ever since the revolution took a violent turn, the number of its admirers in other nations had been diminishing. All men, to the honour of the

pierre. The former party accuses the latter of distributing more thousands of lettres de cachet than were distributed in the old times by all the inquisitors, and yet they call Louis the last of tyrants, and as such aided to dethrone and imprison him. All these factions are to be considered only as opposite to each other in interest ; but by no means differing fundamentally in principle.

* All the crimes of the revolution have been so banded about from one party to another, and so palliated, and changed from their real nature by the propagation of falsities, that they have never been seen in their full horror. The crimes of Caligula, Nero, Charles IX. and other despotic princes, cannot be explained away as the crimes of a people may, at least it would seem so, by the French revolution. It would be well, however, to consider, that what with the agents, the vindicators, and the spectators, few escape the accusation of guilt ; and if we take the old maxim for our guide, that he who shares the spoils with the thief is himself a thief, we shall find, that the whole of the French nation is nearly in the same predicament as to criminality or cowardice.

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human race let it be recorded, wished the French success whilst they imagined that liberty was the real object of the revolution. They blamed, indeed, the excesses of the populace, and trembled for the precipitate career of the assembly; but they searched for excuses as long as they could find any, either in accident or in their ignorance of the affair of reformation which they had set about. The general approbation diminished when it was perceived, that the people continued to be cruel and their representatives unjust; but still those who were already free, in other countries, or who wished to be so, were inclined to palliate what they could not excuse, and to attribute to a mistaken enthusiasm what arose from particular passions. Even the 10th of August inspired less horror than might have been expected, because necessity, or a supposed necessity of the measure, appeared to have acted upon the minds of the people. The measures of September uncaused by fear, and unwarranted by necessity, found yet some * excuse in the irregular manner in which they were perpetrated; but

* These massacres were thrown, as we have seen, all upon one party, but unluckily for the other party, Manuel and Petion were the conductors of the common council when the massacres took place; and though Danton and some of their associates joined Robespierre and Marat, and began to denounce Brissot and his Gascos, yet it will be impossible for any one to make a distinction between their degrees of criminality. Brissot long after that said, *that France was arrived at the last bounds of liberty and equality, trampling all human superstition under foot*, and yet he exclaims against the murders of September. He had asked, with anxious expectation, whether his antagonist Demorande, was not assassinated, and yet he exclaims against these murders! We must again repeat it, that there is no distinction to be made with respect to the principles of those men.

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this last act stood in all its atrocity ; it was unprovoked murder, premeditated and avowed, and, of consequence, mankind had but one opinion on the subject.

It was soon after this that war broke out between England and France, and it is extraordinary, concerning so recent an event, how numbers of people have been misled.

The conduct of Britain towards France had been of the most generous sort. The troubles of that country offered an occasion, and held out, indeed, a temptation to the English ministry to be revenged of that nation for the American war ; for the troubles which had broke out in Ireland at the end of that war, and which were encouraged by the French ;* for the attempt made to change the

* It is well known in this country, that in 1782, when there were disturbances in Ireland, France interfered by emissaries, who swarmed in Dublin. The support intended, and promised to the enemies of the stadtholder in Holland, is equally well known ; and it was the general theme in France, at the time when Tippoo Saib sent ambassadors there, that we should soon lose our possessions in the East Indies. The French nation then (and that was in 1788,) was delighted with this idea, so that the patriots of England must not count any more upon the affection of the people of France towards this country, than they did upon the goodwill of the court. With respect to this nation all parties had the same views, and what is more, always will have ; it was, therefore, certainly great generosity in England not to take advantage of the first disorders of France, which, if it had been inclined to do, Lord Gower would not, probably, have been sent to re-place the Duke of Dorset as ambassador, because the former nobleman was in no degree possessed of the intrigue necessary ; it is even to be questioned, if he was well chosen for giving that information which so important

the government of Holland by chasing away the stadtholder ; and, last of all, for the attack projected upon our settlements in the East Indies in conjunction with Tippoo Saib. The ruin of England seemed to have been the view of the French court, and the wish of the whole nation, yet England saw the whole of the French army disbanded by mutiny, and all the officers of the navy chased away, without making any effort to turn it to advantage. If ministers acted thus, the English nation acted still more generously as individuals ; all men wished them success, and those who were enemies to the revolution do not seem to have been so from being enemies either of the French or of freedom, but, on the contrary, because they saw that they were not taking the road either to be happy or free, and that the revolution was conducted by men either unwilling or incapable of establishing a free and firm government.

The war is one of those events of which the direct cause is a matter of doubt with many, because it is violently contested by a few. An opinion has gone abroad in England, that though we did not declare war, the haughty conduct of ministers towards the emissary Chauvelin, formerly ambassador, occasioned the declaration on the part of the French.

portant a moment required. The second year of the revolution was that in which England might have been expected to act if she wished to do France any harm ; but no traces of such a project are to be found, although all the French, both democrats at home and many emigrant aristocrats, say, that Mr. Pitt excited troubles in the interior of France. Accusation without proof or probability requires no refutation.

The

This matter, however, does not admit of much dispute, if we will examine it without any regard to the feelings of either of the two parties in this country, who differ with regard to its justice and necessity.

Instead of always calling it just and necessary, we should do better in saying, that it was inevitable, for such is the fact. There was no avoiding war, unless we meant to curb ourselves beneath the yoke of the proud republicans, and see the crown of England fall before the red bonnet of France. If we can establish this, there will, perhaps, be little doubt of the truth of the assertion, that war was inevitable; for such a humiliating and miserable alternative cannot be considered by Englishmen as being any alternative at all.

The French divided into two distinct parties, after the murder of their king and the war with England, and those two parties reproached one another mutually with having excited the war. Brissot's party* was condemned after having been

* Brissot's party is still considered in France as having been the cause of the war; and it is certain, that Brissot, Kerfaint, and Condorcet, were the great projectors of conquests. It was that party that endangered Europe the most, yet from all that it does not absolutely follow, that the other party did not contribute full as much, or more, to the declaration of hostilities. It is certain, that the party of Robespierre dominated in the convention at the time, and it was the convention that declared war first on Spain and then on England; and it seems rather to be the fairest to suppose, that Robespierre and his friends were most active in declaring war, but that it was done in a moment of success, and when a reverse came, they

been accused of bringing about the war with England, and after having retorted that accusation with vehemence and probability of truth. Both parties agree then, in two things, that the war with England was a misfortune, and that one or other of them had been the occasion of bringing it on ; this does not look as if it could have been thrown upon England.

If Chauvelin, who could neither be considered as an ambassador from the tenor of his conduct, which was unlike one, nor from his credentials, which were expired, was treated in a haughty stile, it must be recollected, that he began by being very insolent ; that he made no secret of his attachment to the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins, and that he left no stone unturned to encourage the malcontents of England to put themselves in a state of insurrection, and solicit the protection offered in the decree of the 19th November, to all people who wished to throw off the shackles of regular government. Would it have been proper for English ministers, acting for a nation where kingly government is established and cherished, to have submitted to republican insolence ? and would it not have been highly criminal to have permitted the enemies of Eng-

they wished to throw the blame on their enemies. It is to be observed, however, that Brissot's party managed diplomatic affairs when a general invitation to insurrection was given to all the nations of Europe. Chauvelin and the Propagande emissaries were all originally of that party. Since the war took a better turn for the French, the supposed instigators of it are not inquired after ; and if that party had not fallen under twenty-two strokes of Robespierre's guillotine, we might perhaps have seen its leaders *claiming the honour* of bringing on the war with England.

land to form plots in the middle of the capital, to overturn our government and undermine our prosperity?

Will the enemies of the war pretend to say, that Chauvelin did not play the part of a Jacobin emissary, that his house was not a point of reunion for all such, and that he openly professed such principles; availing himself of the inviolability of ambassadors, in which quality he had acted, and of that respect which yet was shewn him on account of the master who had sent him?

This same Chauvelin was disgraced on his return to France, and accused of having aided the party that excited the war; it is therefore as clear as it is possible to be, that the French attribute to themselves this war, about the justice of which we dispute so much.

But the French may be mistaken, it may be said, that it is certainly possible, though they seldom make the mistake of accusing themselves of what others are guilty of; however, if it even were so, it does not follow that the war could be avoided.

We have already mentioned the manœuvres of Claviere to pump guineas off the Change of England, by means of bills upon Paris, which was in fact circulating assignats in England, and neither more nor less;* this thing alone would have

* Assignats had actually began to circulate in certain quarters, that is to say, just as much as ever French Louis d'ors did; they did not serve to pay a bill at a tavern, but they

have been sufficient to warrant ministers in stopping all commerce with France, and forbidding the intercourse of bills of exchange which would have been a hostile measure, though of a negative nature ; the treaty of commerce, and all other treaties would have been broke by such a proceeding, which nevertheless was rendered quite necessary by the mode adopted of paying all bills on France in a species of money that had no intrinsic value, and which the confused state of the country would not permit strangers to convert into any intrinsic value.* Unless the

they could be converted into gold at pleasure. It was at this time that a man appeared upon the Change of London, and offered to deliver bank of England notes at a discount, at the end of three months. This was speaking pretty plain, but the enemies of the war forget all this.

* The circulation of assignats might have been stopt in England, without the violation of any treaty ; but the circulation of bills upon France could not because an intercourse of payments is the necessary consequence of an intercourse of sales, so that when we were obliged to forbid the one, we were forbidding the other. Quibblers may say that individuals will always take care of their own interest, and that the price at which they sold their goods would be proportioned to the discredit of assignats ; but that will not do, we have seen that the French had methods of raising and lowering the change at pleasure, and that it was at the risk of one's life that money or bullion could be brought out of France, so that it would not do to trust entirely to the individual. Do not all governments make laws for the protection of trade against swindlers ? and yet what are swindlers ? they do not take the property of the individual by force, nor against his will, but by deceiving him with respect to his real interest. This was just precisely what the national convention and their agents did when they decreed that bills negotiated in London should be paid in Paris in assignats, and when they forbid the exchange of assignats for specie, or the carrying of specie out of the kingdom. There could not be a more manifest imposition and dupey.

English

English nation was determined to submit to beggary and bankruptcy, it was necessary to shut up this ruinous intercourse, and therefore war was inevitable, for nobody will for a moment suppose that the convention would have tamely submitted to such a measure.

The Jacobin manœuvres in this country rendered the alien bill, as it is called, necessary; this also was an infringement on the rights of nations, which could only be vindicated by necessity. When individuals violate the laws of hospitality, every government is justified in acting as its own peace and safety requires. It was disputed at the time by those who opposed the war, that the manœuvres in question were of such a nature as not to warrant a bill so severe in its nature; but it must be confessed, that this is unsupported by any proof or any probability, for the words and actions of numbers of individuals have plainly shewn what their intentions towards this government were.*

The attack upon Holland was another cause for war with France; but though in the ordi-

* Brissot accuses Cambon for not having given the executive ministers a sufficient credit upon the national treasury, to enable them to fill the coffers of France by stock-jobbing with foreign gold.—This proves the existence of the plan. He accuses the other party of having excited jealousies in Ireland, Scotland, and fermentation in England; that by neglecting this, those plans were stifled which would have enabled France to triumph over her enemies abroad, *and establish her liberty every where.* Ireland, whose movements towards liberty, says he, we were bound to encourage.—And yet we have people in England who pretend to doubt about their intentions.

nary diplomatic line, it may operate as a strong one, we must confess it deserves but little to be mentioned, when our commercial wealth, our prosperity, our government, and our peace at home, were concerned.

In pointing out the reasons for which the war seems to have been inevitable, it is by no means to be inferred, that ministers conducted themselves in the most becoming or the most prudent manner. Perfectly right in the main point, of maintaining English independence and dignity at all events, it might have been done in a less haughty manner, and even with more firmness than it was done ; the case might have been rendered less intricate, and the whole nation would then have been of one mind. It is one of the greatest evils of circuitous negotiations, that the real rights of the case are lost, or at least difficult to be discovered ; a plain, simple declaration of the state of facts would, in this case, have been the proper way of treating with a nation which seduces strangers by its apparently open mode of acting.

Had England declared to France that she would neither have assignats nor emissaries, that the one ruined her commerce and the other her peace, and that of course until France paid bills drawn, with money that had a real value, and until she renounced all interference, either by emissaries or decrees, in the internal government of England, every sort of intercourse must cease between the two countries. If it had been added to this, that a treaty with Holland obliged England to interfere in case she was attacked, and that

that England was determined, as a free and an independent people, to preserve her commerce, her internal peace and government, and to keep her word with her allies.

Such a declaration would either have prevented a war, or have made us more unanimous in supporting it than we have been. The measures adopted by ministers were good, but the manner of adopting them was by no means unexceptionable.

In cases of great importance, people should be clear, distinct, and laconic; nothing that is unimportant, foreign to the matter in hand, or merely relative to form and ceremony, should be mixed with what is weighty and important; it enfeebles our friends, and gives room for the chicane of our enemies.

It is not upon all occasions that statesmen can speak plain, but the habit of not doing so ought not to be let grow upon them to such a degree, as not to do it when they may, for certainly it is in some cases a very great advantage, particularly when a misunderstanding is likely to produce a waste of blood and treasure.

Amongst the many faults of the Jacobins, and along with all their duplicity, they have the advantage of always appearing to speak plain, and they let slip no opportunity of doing so *when they can*. It is excellent policy, and their enemies would neither lose any thing of their dignity nor of their success, if they were to adopt the
same

same mode. The direct language of the Jacobins has made them understand each other, and co-operate over all the countries of Europe, while a few crowned heads have mistaken each other's intentions on almost every occasion; and by their mistakes and the misfortunes which have followed, brought the safety of all regular governments into danger.

The evils of war, it is said, are certain, its advantages hypothetical; this is true, when war is made to obtain advantages, but when it is made in self-defence, it is not so; and for such a purpose was the present most certainly begun. It is the beginning only that is a matter of inquiry here, the conducting of it is another matter, as is also the views which have arisen during its continuance. If the combined powers have shewn a desire of conquest, France has shewn it also, and therefore with respect to that, there are no reproaches to make on either side.

The decree of the French convention had encouraged the fomenters of anarchy here, to so great a pitch, that a convention of self-elected deputies met at Edinburgh, and began to imitate the French convention. Affiliation of clubs was also begun, and it was difficult to say to what excesses they might not have been carried, or spurred on by the people, had not the civil power interfered in time, and delivered over some of the ring-leaders to the law of the land.

As many observations have been made with respect to the treatment of some of the ringleaders, it may be proper, in a few words, to wipe off

off from the judges and jury those reproaches with which they have unjustly been loaded.

As a matter of established law, and of natural justice, the jury and judges deserve praise for what they did, although the same punishment could not have been inflicted in England for the same offence.

With respect to the intentions of men who imitated the leaders of the massacres of September, there could be little doubt, and that doubt it remained in the breasts of the jury to clear up to themselves; and as to the law being more severe in Scotland than in England, it arises from this, that in Scotland, before the Union, treason and sedition were more common than in England, and therefore the law is more explicit on that head; for in every country where any species of a crime is rare the laws respecting its punishment are less severe. An English jury might have been equally convinced of the bad intention, but the judges could not have been able to pass the same sentence. As to the necessity of rigour against such men, the present history is the best argument; the men who committed the massacres of September, and those who had murdered their king, did not commence their career of blood by demanding blood, they commenced it by demanding liberty and bread, and the members of the pretended convention in Scotland gloried in imitating them; the minds of any reasonable jury could not be in much perplexity in so evident a case.

In paying the proper attention to punishing the agitators of revolution, the judges and jury merit the thanks of all men who love liberty ; until such time as the French shall give us the example of a nation establishing real liberty, freedom, and happiness, greater than we enjoy in Britain, those who wish to hold her up as a model to copy from, are certainly deserving of the severest punishment the laws can inflict, for ignorance cannot now be alledged as an excuse.

When the unfortunate French Monarch was no more [*Note O.*] and the convention had seen its enemies repulsed, the divisions between Robespierre's party and the Girondists augmented every day. France was now only ruled by murderers, there were no more victims to be pointed out amongst the privileged orders, nor enemies to the public tranquility by bad conduct in the government; the savages now occupied the forest alone, and therefore were obliged to turn upon and tear each other.

The miseries of the people continued to augment in the midst of victory, and under the dominion of republicans. The same mode was still practised that had been employed before, to make the sovereign people have patience. The parties accused each other, and quarrelled about their power; they united, however, in proscribing and putting to death the rich proprietors of those attached to the old system, who remained; they united their efforts to flatter the people, and to give them hopes by a sort of constitution which they made, by shutting up the churches, by persecuting those who shewed any attachment to

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religion; and by finally attacking the monied men.*

When this last class of proprietors found themselves likely to be attacked, they determined to gain over one of the parties in the assembly, and it was to the Girondists that they applied. It was, in fact, a matter of little importance which of the two parties took up the protection of this sort of property, because from the moment that any set of men in France became attached to order, and the preservation of property, they became themselves a prey to the sans culottes, to the men who had nothing, whose hunger for gold was never satisfied, and whose thirst for blood was never assuaged.

We have yet seen nothing equal to this combat; it was not that of the wild animal against the tame, it was that of the tyger against the tyger, and which ever party fell, it was now no longer a subject for pity or regret.

The Girondist party thought proper to distinguish their opponents by the title of ANARCHISTS, and it was not at all wonderful, if their newborn attachment to order should be attributed to selfish plans, or some sudden motives; for it was but with a bad grace, that men who had headed

* When the convention assembled, most part of the actors at the Hotel de Ville in August and September were chosen. Robespierre had left the commune to become a representative; Talien, who was a secretary, and Hebert, the judge of Madame de Lanballe, had done the same; Danton had quitted the place of minister of justice, and those were the leaders of the Mountain, Brissot Condorcet, Thomas Paine, &c. &c. were of the Girondist party, and expected to continue their reign of laying the rich bankers under contribution, and then establishing order.

insurrection

insurrection, and disseminated its principles from the very beginning of the revolution, now preached obedience to law, and regard for property; insurrection was a holy duty they still could not deny, but it might, they said, be *continued too long*.

The efforts of the Brissotins, assisted by those ministers who had signed the death warrant of their* master, and by those who conducted him to the scaffold, now preached order and humanity, and respect to property and persons. They then found themselves in the same situation that the court had been in before the 10th of August; the rabble was now no longer at their command, and their last hour arrived.

* The ministers who signed the order for the king's execution, were

Roland—since cut his own throat on the high road, his wife guillotined.

Servan—guillotined since as a Brissotin.

Le Brun—guillotined.

Clavierre—cut his throat in prison, and his wife took poison.

Bournonville—a prisoner in Germany.

Paihe—a prisoner in France.

Petion and Manuel, along with the above honorable gentlemen, now preached order, but the farce was too gross even to be played in Paris, and accordingly the people of Paris never snewed so much pleasure as when those of them who were caught, were carried to the guillotine. Even the mob of Paris had yet some respect for virtue, and contempt for vice; none of the royalists were insulted in the manner that the Duke of Orleans, Brissot, Hebert, Danton, and Robespierre himself, were, when they were carried to punishment. When conscience cannot speak loud, it whispers, and it would appear every sentiment of justice is never extinguished in the minds of men,

The

The Brissotins had, as we have already said, been accused by the other party of causing the war with England, and they had defended themselves but in a feeble manner. A circumstance which now happened, facilitated the triumph of their enemies; Dumourier was found to have ambitious views, which did not correspond with liberty and equality; he had been defeated by the enemy, and the anger of the people was excited against the Brissotins, as being Dumourier's friends, and the cause of so unfortunate a war. The storm was now ready to burst upon their heads, and their enemies hastened it, by contriving to call them *fœderalists* (implying that they wished to divide France into provinces, as the American republic is divided). The *unity and indivisibility* of the republic was then put upon a par with the liberty and equality of its inhabitants; and to plot against the one was as great a crime as against the other. It was for this imaginary crime that the new apostles of order were attacked; and after having twenty times escaped merited punishment for their attack upon law and order, they were now going to be sacrificed for daring to defend it.*

When the Girond party found themselves ready to be attacked, they began with attacking the anarchists in a pamphlet. This pamphlet, writ-

* Dumourier, as far as the politics of so inconceivable a man can be known, was attached to the Girondist party; and at all events, as this was supposed, that party shared a little in his disgrace. It is certain that the plans of conquest, as proposed by Brissot, Condorcet, and Kersaint, were such as Dumourier approved of the most; and it will be recollected, he had been minister with Roland, Claviere, &c. during the king's life.

ten in the name of an Address from Brissot to his Constituents, is, when taken all in all, one of the most curious pieces of composition that ever was produced.* It is also one of the most valuable, if we consider it as the criticism of a leader of revolutions, upon the principles of revolution, it unveils all the plans of the parties, and declaims against the evils of anarchy in as strong terms as any royalist could do. [*Note P.*]

This publication was a step very similar to that taken by La Fayette the year before, when he left his army to come to give a lesson to the assembly. La Fayette, after shewing the example of rebellion, had the insolence to set his face against it; and now Petion and Brissot, just as proud of the 10th of August as La Fayette was of taking the Bastile, had the insolence, in their turn, to write a pamphlet against anarchy.

* This pamphlet is the most severe criticism or satire, considering from whom it came, that could possibly be written upon French liberty and equality; in it Brissot evidently speaks from conviction and experience, that the state into which the anarchists had thrown France, was the most deplorable to which any country could be reduced; that the representatives enjoyed no liberty, and that the laws were totally without force, persons without security, and property without protection; yet he breaks out from time to time into exclamations in favour of glorious liberty and sacred equality, such as it was in France. There is something in that contradiction that it is difficult to explain. Vanity, it might appear, hindered him from renouncing his favorite system (for republicans are the vainest people in the world) and truth forced from him an avowal of the real existing miseries. One is tempted to think, that on this subject of liberty and equality, his ideas had run so much, that he had lost the faculty of reasoning; for it is quite clear, that it was the very theory which he approved that led to those very miseries of which he complained, so that without admitting some derangement of ideas, it is difficult to account for his conduct and his writings.

The

The anarchists now meted out to the Girondists the same measure which they had measured out to their king, and this pamphlet served as the signal to begin.*

A committee had been formed by the convention to inquire into the illegal arrests and confiscations carried on by the municipal officers, and other constituted authorities. This was a measure adopted at the request and by the power of the Brissotin faction, in order to keep their word with men of property. The address of Brissot against the anarchist had been published on the 25th of May, and on the 27th a crowd surrounded the assembly, demanding the dissolution of this committee. This mob was headed by what were called *revolutionary committees*,† and as an armed mob

* Ever since the month of September a sort of division had existed between Robespierre's, Marat's, and the Gironde party, because Brissot had not spoken favourably of the massacres, and because restrictions had been laid upon the newspaper printers, of whom he was one. As there is a vindictive spirit of the most implacable sort in all those chiefs of parties, this breach was naturally widening, but the protection of monied men, which was a profitable job in perspective, brought matters to a conclusion sooner than they would otherwise have been.

† The measures adopted now were all *revolutionary*; this was the name invented by the violent party in the Jacobin club, to excuse their excesses. The constitutionalists had given a lesson to their enemies of the folly of thinking to trust to laws and regulations for preserving an usurped power. The government of Morocco may be called revolutionary, and by that means the emperors can make some sort of resistance when they are attacked, but Louis XVI. and those who adhered to the constitution, could make none. It was necessary for the king to have the order of the mayor of Paris, before

mob is an eloquent orator, the assembly decreed the destruction of their committee by the usual method of standing up. Next day, however, when the mob was not assembled at the gate, this decree was suspended until the committee should have made its report; and on the 30th the *revolutionary* council came to intimate to the assembly, that it would be *necessary to obey the order* given by the populace, and thus, in the midst of armed petitioners, and the cries and imprecations of the people in the galleries, the suppression was again determined upon and decreed.

On the 31st, the anarchists, convinced that they had only yet the appearance of victory, but not the reality, summoned to their post the men of the 10th of August.* The tocsin was sounded, and the cannon of alarm fired, and Henriot the commandant ordered the guards to march and surround the assembly. A petition was then presented, demanding a decree of arrest against thirty-five members of the Girondist party. The

fore he could *legally* defend his own life, whilst those who revolted, fettered by no law, could attack him when or where, or in what manner they pleased. Instead of now having the constituted authorities, they had revolutionary authorities, who having the faculty of acting as they thought proper, were upon a par with the populace, and could, upon occasion, make head against them.

* When it was said in the prospectus of the present work, that it would plainly appear, that the first principles laid down by the constituent assembly, in their rights of man, led on to the last excesses, it was by no means a mistake. This is now the third revolution upon the same plan, and they are all as like each other as the steps of the same ladder; the materials and the distance from the point of setting out are different, but every thing else is the same.

assembly,

assembly, in order to get rid of the armed force, demanded three days to examine this petition*.

Since the 30th of May the barriers had been shut, and the usual forms of insurrection were in full activity. The directors of the post-office† were changed, and all letters were examined.

On the 2d of June, the revolutionary committee appeared again at the bar, *and for the last time demanded* the accusation of the members.

The ‡ assembly thought proper to pass to the order of the day, upon which the petitioners made a sign to the spectators to go out and take arms, that they might by force obtain what they wanted. At mid-day the tocsin sounds again, and the cannon of alarm is fired, the citizens

* It is strange to see how Petion and his friends had lost their intriguing energy of the 10th of August; it is difficult to conceive, how the same men, who were so active and so artful at disarming royalty, and attacking the king, should be so inactive and careless, when for several days running the same manœuvres were preparing against themselves.

† The directors of the post had all been changed immediately after the massacres of September, but had been succeeded by Girondists; so that the party now getting into power was determined not to leave this superiority in the hands of their enemies.

‡ The assembly did not now meet in a riding school as it had formerly done; the royal palace was converted into a national palace; and it was here that the attack was conducted against the convention.

are called to take arms and obey their commander.*

The assembly was surrounded as the palace had been the year before, but with an apparatus still more formidable; more than an hundred cannon were pointed against the house of assembly, furnaces for red-hot balls were prepared, and an order was given to let no one depart, but to fire on the first of the representatives of the nation who dared so much as to look through the iron rails. Marat and the chiefs of the Mountain were very active on this occasion, and it is more than probable, that these formidable preparations were intended only to intimidate, for it would not have answered the purpose of the anarchists to fire upon the convention.

The promoters of the disturbance were many of them in the hall, and those did not certainly wish to be scorched with red-hot balls, neither could it be supposed, that if the convention were massacred, Paris could continue to reign over France, by desiring them to send more representatives to such a city.

The ceremony of preparing grates for heating cannon balls was, therefore, probably only intended by these hardy sons of insurrection as a

* Santerre, named commander on the 10th of August, was not now revolutionary enough for the party of Robespierre; besides, he had been attached to the Duke of Orleans: to get rid of him he had been named general of an army to go against the Vendee, and one Henriot, a commis des barriers, commanded in his place.

lesson to their masters, several of whom were beaten and had their cloaths torn.*

Several battalions, which should have marched against the royalists in the Vendee before that day, arrived suddenly, and took possession of all the passages and apartments adjoining to the hall, where they were bribed with assignats and wine, in order to induce them to be faithful and withstand the eloquence of the deputies.

The besiegers were well armed, and the national palace (say the deputies) became a prison, where the representatives of the people were menaced, insulted, and degraded. It was precisely what had happened in the royal palace the year before, and the parties that then degraded royalty were the same who complained of being themselves degraded now.

Barrere was called upon to make the report of the committee on the accused members. Barrere, floating in the uncertainty of which party might prevail, proposed, in the name of the committee, that those members who were accused, but against whom no proofs had been produced, should be *invited* to suspend their functions. Some of the accused members accepted of this *invitation*.† This sacrifice

* The reader will remember, that precisely the same things took place previous to the 10th of August, when the decree against La Fayette was wanted from the assembly by the surrounding mob. The persecutors then were the persecuted now, that was all the difference.

† Barrere, who followed Robespierre in all his excesses, was a man never decided in opinion, but when he was either obliged

sacrifice being made to the people, the convention became more bold, and ordered the commandant of the troops to the bar. The order was laughed at; several deputies were insulted, the convention ordered those who insulted them to be brought to the bar; this order was resisted by force. It was then determined to adjourn, and to shut the TEMPLE OF THE LAW. This was attempted by all the members in a body, with the president at their head. The president ordered the centinels to retire, and the troop of lawgivers got to the middle of the court, when Henriot the commandant ordered them to turn back. The convention, said the president, will receive orders from no person; possessed of powers received from the French nation, the French nation alone can give orders to the convention.*

The commandant on this drew his sabre, put his cavalry in battle array, and ordered the artillery men to point their guns. The president and all the members vied with each other in their haste to return to the hall, and decree, that the accused should be arrested. Brissot, Pétion, and

obliged to be so, or knew that he was certain of support. The appearance of moderation, in the present case, was, because the real strength of parties had not been tried; Barrere and the committee who made the report, and said, that nothing had been proved against the accused, might, in time of need, have made a merit of it with the accused. When things were decided, this same Barrere joined with others in sending the accused to the scaffold.

* The similarity of this speech and that of Mirabeau at Versailles is great. M. de Brezé was a courtier, Henriot was a clerk at a toll-bar or turnpike. We see which of the two knew best how to reduce the deputies to obedience.

their

their companions * were ordered to be confined in their own houses, and in going there they ought to have remembered that their king was not treated with such lenity. His house was robbed and plundered, and he was sent to a miserable prison, and all those suspected of attachment to his person or family were massacred, imprisoned, or driven into exile.

Let us hear what the arrested deputies themselves say on this occasion, in an address to their constituents.

“ Frenchmen, you who wish to be freemen
 “ and republicans, behold such facts as cannot
 “ be denied; we only offer you the outline, and
 “ we suppress details of facts still more atrocious.
 “ The national representation, imprisoned, de-
 “ graded, and deliberating under the poniards of
 “ the assassins of an audacious faction, exists no
 “ more. Let not your rights be any longer
 “ usurped; leave not the exercise of national so-
 “ vereignty in such hands; save liberty, sacred
 “ equality, the unity, and indivisibility of the re-
 “ public: without these, France is lost. Repel
 “ with horror all propositions tending to fœder-
 “ alism. Rally, assemble, you may yet save the
 “ republic: the republic is France itself, and does
 “ not reside within the walls of Paris. There
 “ your representatives, prisoners, dare no longer
 “ speak;

* Brissot, Pétion, Guadet, Genfoné, Gorsas, Vergreaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Biroteau, Ledon, Ra-
 baut de St. Etienne, Lafource, Languinais, Grangeneuve, Le
 Hardy, Le Sage, Kervelegan, Gardier, Boileau, Bertrand,
 Viger, Mollovaut, Govamaire, la Reviere, and Bergoin.

“ speak; but, no matter, they well know how to
 “ die worthy of you, worthy of themselves, too
 “ happy, if after that their country can be
 “ saved. When the moment of national ven-
 “ geance shall be arrived, Frenchmen, do not
 “ forget that Paris itself is innocent; that the ci-
 “ tizens of Paris were ignorant of the plots of
 “ which they became the blind instruments. It
 “ is not upon Paris that the terrible and all-
 “ powerful hand of the nation should strike, but
 “ upon that horde of miserable wretches and
 “ robbers who have taken possession of Paris and
 “ of France, who cannot live but by crimes, and
 “ who have no hope but in the continuation of
 “ crimes. Adieu.”

*Paris, 7th June, 2d year of
 the French republic.*

Such were the complaints of the instigators of
 revolt, when it was turned against themselves.
 They now made a very severe criticism on the re-
 sults of their own principles, and are an eternal
 example for those who think to rule insurrection,
 and turn it always to their own advantage.

This address produced a considerable effect. It
 was not now one of those clear cases of suspected
 aristocrats and royal despots; it was representa-
 tives against representatives, and the insurgents of
 August 1792, against those of May 1793. The
 same truths which the royalists had never ceased
 to repeat from the beginning of the revolution
 without any effect, now produced a schism and
 division amongst the different provinces.

The

The Lyonese, the people of Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and the adjacent country, as well as part of Normandy, took part with the arrested deputies. It was partly in consequence of this same affair that the port and city of Toulon were delivered up to the English and Spanish fleets; and it was this division in the interior of France that occasioned the inactivity of the French army during the summer, when Condé and Valenciennes were taken by the allied armies.

Had the royalist party and the combined powers seized this occasion to push matters, it is probable that things might have gone much better for them than they have done. But the errors of that campaign and of the cabinets of Europe, were inexcusable, and are only to be equalled by the long train of misfortunes which they occasioned.

The combined powers attributed their first defeats to the want of support from the malcontents in the nation---support which they had been promised; and now, when France was a scene of open revolt and complete civil war, what did the combined armies of Austria and England do? They wasted a whole summer, spent millions of money, and spoiled their best pieces of ordnance, in taking Valenciennes, to abandon it the year after without firing a shot.*

* Valenciennes was not absolutely abandoned without firing a shot, but it was nearly the same thing; the garrison capitulated without either a regular defence or a regular attack.

Lyons, which from its position, its riches, the vast number of its inhabitants,* and, above all, their disposition, was worth millions to the allied powers, was left to sink under the armies of the convention, without an attempt being made to give it assistance, which would have been so easily done. Lyons fought for liberty and property against anarchy and pillage; and, though it did not absolutely fight for the House of Bourbon, it fought for the cause which interests men much more, and which, had it triumphed, would have ultimately served the cause of royalty.

But, if a royal cause alone could excite the efforts of the cabinets of Europe, they had an opportunity to support it by assisting the royalists in Britany; in that part of France where the spirit of irreligion and innovation had not taken root, and which is called the Vendee. Arms, money, and a leader, were all they wanted, and the combined powers had all these at their disposition. The Count d'Artois, brave by nature, and now rendered wiser by misfortune, offered himself as the leader † of the royalists, and as a leader who

* Lyons was an immense town, not much less than half the size of Paris; a very industrious people, and might have been very easily assisted from Savoy, or even from Alsace.

† The Count d'Artois had been at Petersburg, which place he left with the expectation of going directly to the Vendee. The sloop of war in which he was lay off Holland for several weeks. Government here, for reasons best known to itself, would not consent to his landing in the Vendee. In military affairs as nothing is certain, it is possible that this step was wise; but it is very certain that the steps taken, of raising troops and threatening an invasion were very foolish; it was exactly exciting the republicans to the slaughter of the royalists.

would

would have carried along with him all those emigrant gentlemen who have been idle and unemployed, because they did never know for what cause, nor under what standard, they were to serve.*

What did England do on this occasion? Why, during the precious months that France was on the brink of a decided civil war, and when many parts of that republic had actually revolted, a sort of an army was collected in England under the command of an excellent and a brave man, with the professed design of aiding the royalists in Brittany, but without ever really attempting to do so.† This expedition, which ought to have been

* The emigrants have been treated with a mixture of cruelty and good-nature by the English government, for which it is very difficult to account, unless by supposing that they inspired pity, but not confidence, or that the minister had no fixed plan of operations. Be that as it may, the emigrants might have served the cause of the coalesced powers very effectually. They should have been considered as a separate body, and treated with upon a certain basis, as independent powers treat. The reason of this is, that their interest would then have led them to put every means to work, and strain every nerve to succeed; at present they know not what is their interest.

† This affair, it will be said, like most others, has two ways of being viewed. The people of the Vendee were to have secured some sea-port for our arms and troops to be landed at, and in that case we should have assisted them; but it is a fact, that our preparations were so publicly made, and so long in making, that the forces of the convention came down in such numbers as to render it impossible. Besides, it was never troops that were wanted, strangers would have only served to hinder the republicans from joining the royalists; money, stores, and arms, were what should have been sent.

execut-

executed, but never made public, was made notoriously public, and never executed. The consequence was, as might be expected, that the royalists were soon after attacked with all the vigour that the convention could display; and what might have restored royalty to France was only productive of carnage and bloodshed to the almost entire extinction of the unfortunate men who had trusted to promises of assistance from England.

Time and opportunity were lost, and if experience can instruct, when it is attended with misfortune, there is not a doubt but that long ago the different leaders of the cabinets of Europe are convinced of their error.

Those who at the beginning of the war expected success would attend the combined arms, counted chiefly upon the disorders and divisions of France. These disorders and divisions took place, but the combined powers did not turn them to advantage; so that the miserable people who had revolted were obliged to submit to their cruel tyrants, and, if now not more unanimous than before with respect to their own government, they are perfectly unanimous in resolving never again to depend upon the allies for support.

Those who look upon the despotism of Robespierre and the guillotine, as being the cause of the violent exertions of the French nation, surely then mistake the cause. The unanimity of the French nation proceeded from the despair to which those were reduced who had seen Lyons unassisted, Toulon evacuated, and the Vendee

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ruined and laid waste, because the English had established a camp of parade, and menaced an invasion from Jersey, Guernsey, and the Isle of Wight. The example of those unfortunate places which had been subdued, were the cause of men in France unanimously submitting to Robespierre, and the cruelty which he exercised was the consequence of his triumph, from which resulted the implicit obedience given to his orders, and the violent efforts of the next campaign.

The party of Robespierre grew stronger every day during the summer, because anarchy found supporters, and those who wished for order found none. Some of the arrested members found means to escape, and the trial of those who remained in custody, and who were after some time, transferred from their own houses to a prison, was commenced, but it went slowly on.

In proportion as Robespierre's party gained strength, vigorous measures were taken against their enemies, and a revolutionary tribunal was instituted, where a packed jury, paid witnesses, and judges who were totally at the command of the ruling party, daily put to death numbers without any crime proved, and frequently without any particular reason assigned.

C H A P. III.

Robespierre's party acquires solidity—Massacres at Lyons—Trial of the queen—Her character justified from the scandalous imputations spread over all Europe on her account—Her expenses an example both to princes and people—Unfair trial and execution of the Brissotines—Robespierre reigns without controul—Marat assassinated—Great number of prisoners in the different jails of France—Danger of being a proprietor—D'Orleans, Barnave, Manuel, and Bailly, executed Fête of Reason—Hebert's party starts up in opposition to Robespierre—System of terror completely established—Hebert's party falls—Danton's party falls—Robespierre's power again re-established without controul.

THE reduction of Lyons was the first thing that gave a solid foundation to the power of the ruling party. The national commissaries, who were sent there, exceeded in their cruel vengeance every thing that history relates. When an unruly soldiery enters into a conquered city, the desire of plunder and the thirst of revenge may, as it has on many occasions, lead to excesses which make nature shudder, but then they have been excesses which all men condemn, and which even
their

their perpetrators do not presume or attempt excusing. The massacres at Lyons were done by men in cold blood as matters of justice and right;* they boasted of them to the convention, and the letters of the commissaries were filled with execrations against the inhabitants of the devoted city, and professions of their own loyalty to the nation, to liberty and equality.

Two hundred citizens, traitors, say they, have suffered death this day, and to-morrow there will fall double that number; the prisons are full, and in the lower cells are barrels of gunpowder, on the smallest signal of evasion they will be all blown in the air.†

When the rulers of France began to conceive a hope of remaining masters, the deputies who had escaped were declared out-laws and deserving death, wherever they should be found. Gorsas was the first who was caught, and he was guillotined in twenty-four hours after: this was what they called the initiative of the decapitation of deputies, and prepared the way for the trials of the others.

* It was before Lyons was taken, and indeed before it revolted openly, that the commissaries against whom Brissot complains insulted the people of Lyons by their cruelties and excesses. After they had put in prison the fathers of families, they obliged their wives and children, who came to implore pity and pardon, to dance, to drink, and to sing. The commissioners, after its reduction, were still worse.

† The only reason assigned for not blowing up all the prisoners in Lyons at once, was the danger to the executioners themselves. Grape shot, musket shot, and the guillotine, were all employed, but the commissaries were continually lamenting the slowness of the justice.

To

To prepare the people for the judgment of the detained representatives, and to divert them from the loss of Valenciennes, the convention thought proper to gratify their thirst of blood and its own vengeance, by bringing to the last punishment the unfortunate queen.

Vengeance and savage ferocity were, however, on this occasion, completely humiliated, by the calm, mild, and dignified behaviour of an injured and insulted princess. Never has the world been witness to a scene where more modest and becoming dignity was displayed by the accused, nor where less regard was paid to decency, truth, humanity, and justice, by the accusers.

All Europe had been filled with libels, and aspersions against the queen of France, even in the days of her power and prosperity, and what the attachment of her friends could never accomplish, the infamous accusations of her enemies effected in a moment. Calumny was silenced, and not a doubt left with respect to purity of a reputation so often and so unjustly attacked.

Neither offers of reward, nor threats of vengeance, had been able to procure one single proof of criminality or vice against the widow of the unfortunate king, whom, in order to find guilty, though a stranger, unprotected and alone, her enemies saw themselves reduced to the necessity of employing the most disgraceful, abominable, and absurd, of all expedients; her infant son was intoxicated, and at the suggestion of that miscreant Hebert, whose name alone brings to mind every thing that is vicious or wicked, the
affectionate

affectionate caresses of a mother to a child of nine years of age were construed by those monsters into a crime, the committing of which would be unnatural, if it were not impossible.*

The queen of France had long suffered every insult and humiliation which it was possible for her enemies to invent, and certainly if Frenchmen had retained any of that humanity and feeling which they pretended to possess, the depart-

* Hebert published a paper, called the *Pere du Chefne*, in which oaths, blasphemies, and obscenities, filled up two-thirds, at least, of every sentence; it would be necessary to have seen a specimen of that precious morsel, in order to form an idea of the talents of its author, and the refined taste of the Parisian fans culottes. Well, this same Hebert proposed to bring the young prince into court and question him, after having him in a state of intoxication; not that even then he could be brought to accuse his mother, but questions were to be asked in such a way, that the answers might be construed unfavourably for the mother. This artifice was so glaring, that even the judges of the revolutionary tribunal objected to it; the spectators, they said, would see through it: an examination was then fabricated by Hebert and some of his companions. Even the satellites of the tribunal found this accusation too abominable and absurd, to which the queen very properly refused to answer, but by an appeal to the hearts and feelings of *all mothers*.

Hebert was the projector of the worship of reason; his mistress personated the goddess of reason; but Robespierre's feast, in honour of the Supreme Being, did away all this, the despot having previously sent both the oracle and the goddess to the guillotine. Paris was never disposed to be more gay than when the *Pere du Chefne* mounted the scaffold, even the executioner mocked and insulted him, to the great delight of the spectators. Such circumstances lead to a hope, that all sentiment of justice is not yet banished from the minds even of the Parisians, and that the day may yet come, when all the companions of his crimes will all be treated in the same manner.

ments and the whole of France would have joined in demanding for her that respect which is due to misfortune, and that justice which is due to a defenceless stranger. Such a step would have been highly honourable. There was no reason for not doing so, as it could have been attended neither with tumult nor danger. But the French nation has shewn, that with a superabundant vanity, and pretensions to every virtue, it possesses none ; and that it would be better for defenceless innocence to be in a cavern of robbers in a forest, than to be before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris.

As the character, the rank, and the accomplishments of this unfortunate queen, have inspired her advocates with a warmth of expression that is very natural and excusable, though ill-fitted to convince the malicious, it may not be improper to prove, as far as probable evidence can go, that the queen of France was totally irreproachable on the subject of fidelity to the marriage bed. This digression, it is hoped, will be excused, when it is remembered, that many of those who once flourished in the sunshine of her favour, contributed by their own levity of conduct, as well as by their silence to support calumnies which it would have been their duty and their interest to contradict ; and when we have the example of whole volumes being written to vindicate the characters of queens, who, though perhaps more beautiful, were certainly not more accomplished, were less unfortunate, and much more liable to reproach, than the daughter of Maria Teresa. It will be a relief to us, after contemplating the horrors and villanies
of

of men, to dwell for a moment on the virtues of an amiable woman.

We ought, in the first place, to consider, that innocence, unless when the charges are direct, can never be proved by positive evidence; we must be contented with probable evidence, as the nature of things does not admit of any other.

The court of France was in a very corrupted and disorderly state when the late queen arrived and was married to the Dauphin. The example of a king, who in his latter days, had given a loose to debauchery, was followed with eagerness amongst a nobility naturally given to the same sort of vice.

At that time Madame du Barry,* raised from being upon the town, in a very inferior stile, to be mistress of the king, dispensed the royal favour amongst the courtiers, and of consequence, the young German princess made her entry in the midst of cabals, intrigues, and enemies. Open, amiable, and generous, she soon had friends, but innocent and unsuspecting she exposed herself to the slander of her enemies, from which those friends could not protect her.

When, after the death of his grandfather, Louis XVI. began to reign, his simple manner of life, his want of taste for the pleasures and dissipations of the court, contrasted with the love

* Madame du Barry conducted herself, however, on most occasions, with a moderation and prudence that did her great honour, the old king was not so prudent as his young mistress, and often not so just.

of splendor carried too far, and of gaiety which the queen did not attempt to conceal, gave room for the courtiers at Versailles and the people of Paris, so much addicted to scandal, to suspicion; and so much accustomed to find scandal and suspicion, justified by the looseness of their own conduct, to raise those reports, which spreading all over Europe, tarnished her character.*

The French always judge of others by themselves, it is the failing of their nation, and they did not consider, that a princess descended from one of the most illustrious and the proudest families in Europe, and who was accused by themselves of having too much Austrian pride, would have been irreparably humiliated and ruined, had she put herself for a moment in the power of any person upon this delicate subject.

But levity and the national character of the French did not alone contribute to spread and circulate these reports, the Duke of Orleans, and all his adherents and associates exerted themselves to give plausibility and probability to defamation; and particular circumstances which malignity had contrived, were circulated by unsuspicious credulity.

The levellers, who began to wish for that system which they have since seen realized, seized upon this occasion to degrade royalty; the king of France was laughed at and turned into ridi-

* The turn of the French for this sort of scandal was so great that by becoming universal, it seemed to have rendered their manner of spreading it an affair of course.

cule, and before the revolution began no two persons in the kingdom were so much misunderstood as to their real characters as the king and queen.

A mysterious affair of a trick played upon the Cardinal de Rohan, about a diamond necklace,* by some of those fortune-hunters, male and female, who swarmed in Paris, in which the queen had been personated by a Mamoiselle Oliva, who resembled her considerably in features and person, made a noise all over Europe, and as this affair was never properly searched to the bottom and explained, many people believed the queen was actually one of the adventurers who duped the cardinal.

In France, as the first impression is generally yielded to, things are seldom much examined and compared, otherwise the queen should either have been acquitted of this, or, if not, acquitted of the accusation of lavishing away millions every week; for if she had such sums at her command, how could any one suppose that a lady who never showed that she would stoop to play a mean part,

* This affair of the necklace was merely a trick practised on the cardinal, who had been ambassador at Vienna when the scheme of the marriage of Louis XVI. first took place.—He had tried rather to prevent the union, and as he did not succeed was not in the good graces of the parties after it had taken place. The cardinal had always been surrounded with adventurers, who pretended to have discovered the art of making gold, and other valuable secrets in chemistry; a plan was formed by some of these adventurers to dupe him out of a great sum of money, upon the idea that the queen wished to be possessed of this necklace, and that if he could procure it, he would get into favour at court.

should,

should, for the sake of so small a sum, put herself into the hands of her enemies, and in short, become the associate of half a dozen miserables, who would probably finish by dividing the spoils among themselves? this was ridiculous. The story of the necklace* would have been barely probable if the queen had been a mean spirited woman, who had not any means of procuring money to defray her extravagancies.

Such were the causes that operated principally in making injurious reports be spread, and the queen, who though preserving dignity, through which a considerable share of pride could be seen, was good-natured in the extreme, was unsuspecting, familiar, and generous; she had banished from her private societies the stiff etiquette of a court, which seemed the more strange in a princess who came from a country where court etiquette is carried to an extreme; this gave a sort of probability to the accusations which were brought against her.

The facts, however, were quite different; the queen was generous and loved power, but she

* The value of the necklace was only 1,400,000 livres, or 60,000l. sterling, and could not sell for half that sum; it was ridiculous for those same persons, who accused the queen of giving such large sums to her favourites, to suppose she would go shares with six or seven swindlers, for such a sum as this; besides, such a charge required some proof, and none was ever produced.

Another report was, that she did this to be revenged of the cardinal; this is, if possible, still more inconceivable, and requires no answer, after the disposition to pardon her enemies which the queen had on so many occasions, both before and during the revolution manifested. *To remember, but not to retaliate*, was known to be her maxim with respect to enemies.
had

had no other means of gratifying those, which were her ruling passions, than by preserving the affection and confidence of her husband; and it may be asserted, without danger of being contradicted by those who approached these two personages the nearest, that the king was literally in love with the queen (*amoureux d'elle*) during the whole of their union, and that though her turn for expense vexed him to the heart, in other respects, she enjoyed his full confidence and esteem, and it is certain that the queen made no other use of this ascendancy so obtained over her husband, than to make her friends and those around her happy.

Those who imagine, that the king of France would have submitted peaceably to any thing that looked like a serious indignity offered, knew nothing of his character.* Like most good-natured, plain, honest, men, the king was quite ungovernable when he found people were unjust or treated him ill; he then became unmanageable and obstinate to a violent degree, and if the queen had once committed an *irreparable* fault, he certainly would not have pardoned her, and from that instant she would have lost her power over him.

Those again, who think that the queen could have been guilty of infidelity without the king knowing any thing of the matter, are still more

* Since the revolution, if the king did not shew this disposition, he only acted like other prisoners, who know that ill-humour only doubles the evil, but when things used to vex him from wilful extravagance or mismanagement, few people were more difficult to keep within bounds. This is often the case with well-meaning men,

mistaken. We have observed, that she commenced her career at Versailles in the midst of enemies, and that she never was without such, the slanders which we are refuting is a proof; those enemies never lost sight of her motions, and if the smallest ground had been given for serious suspicions, it would immediately have been turned by them to their advantage.

Those who * were friends to the queen, and who depended upon her bounty, or, at least, who profitted of her bounty, were as much interested in watching her conduct, to *prevent* any thing that might destroy her influence and blast their hopes, as her enemies were to watch *for* such an event; so that on all hands the queen was surrounded with spies, and the sharpest of all spies, those who were looking after their own interest.

Nothing, therefore, would have been so foolish or unnatural in a princess who had ambition, who knew her dignity and supported it well, though not by stiffness and etiquette, as to have risked all, and run so headlong into a scene of disgrace and humiliation, as nothing could be more impossible than to escape discovery and the fatal consequences,

Scandal, supported by envy and self-interest, first robbed the queen of France of her reputation, and they were facilitated in their enterprise by the levity of the age, and by the high rank

* It is a great reproach to many gentlemen who were protected by this amiable queen, to have permitted suspicions to be whispered that disgraced so generous a friend,

and prosperity of their victim. A cruel reverse and the unexampled fortitude, temper, and patience with which she bore it, have however proved, that she was an affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a princess who knew, on all occasions, how to support her own dignity better than how to punish her enemies.*

In aiding to defend a character which has been so unwarrantably traduced, it would be injustice to herself and the world not to add, that though blameless as to the things of which she was accused, she was not so with regard to her expenses; they were great and without arrangement; she was generous often without judgment, and her conduct was by no means a model to be held out for princes, whose real glory is in alleviating the burdens of their people, in rendering nations rich and easy, and not in taking upon themselves to distinguish individuals, and enrich them at the expense of the whole.†

This

* To all these ought to be added, that if there had been any guilt, her enemies would have found the means of bringing it home on the trial; they had the inclination, and they could not want the means; but this is so evident a vindication arising from the trial itself, that it is not necessary to insist upon it: that the queen was innocent is clear—the above vindication is meant to shew *how she was supposed to be guilty*.

† There is here a striking resemblance between the conduct of princes and of democratic leaders, although they are in their effects diametrically opposite. Princes take upon themselves to *suspect* certain people of having more merit than others, they make favourites of them, and tax the nation to enrich them. Democrats take upon themselves to suspect certain persons of crimes, and of turning their punishment to the advantage of the nation, confiscate their
property,

This unfortunate queen is a terrible example to princes, who feeling themselves generously disposed, turn the feelings of a good heart from their country and exert them upon individuals. Ingratitude from many individuals, and vengeance from her subjects, were the consequences of this conduct ; let it therefore, be a lesson to princes, and let it also be a lesson to people ; let princes form wise rules for their conduct, and let people without either anger or ill-humour fix rules for princes ; let there be grandeur of conduct on both sides, let them be great in their generosity, but let it have fixed bounds which it cannot pass.

There are many things that might be said to excuse the queen of France for those errors and expenses into which she run ; her youth, her inexperience, her being a *stranger*, and not knowing the consequences of what she was about ; but, above all, the intrigues and extravagancies with which, at her first arrival, she found herself surrounded, are the principal circumstances that tend to diminish the fault, but nothing can take it entirely away. She was too expensive, and those expenses hastened the cruel revolution which awaited herself, her family, and her kingdom.

property. In the one case, part of the property of the nation is *confiscated* to enrich an individual, chosen by caprice for the purpose ; in the other, individual property is confiscated to enrich the nation. The one is wrong, the other is abominable ; and in each case it is the ruler gratifying his own feelings at the expense of justice. Surely those Jacobins who cry out against princes will be satisfied with this note.— This history is not written to flatter any party, but with a design to shew things as they are.

When

When the people had been for the second time gratified with the sight of expiring royalty, they were considered by Robespierre and his friends as being prepared for the exhibition intended of the Brissotines. The accusations brought against this party were just as void of foundation as those brought against the queen; but as the philosophers fell a sacrifice to their own principles, and to their own practices, they do not require our pity; they persisted just as obstinately in the principles that brought themselves to the guillotine as their enemies did, but then they did not intend that they should have had such consequences with respect to themselves.*

The trial of Brissot, and twenty-one of his companions, could not have ended in condemnation to death, according to the laws of the men who judged them, but the method practised every day against the innocent persons who were brought to be summarily judged by this tribunal were employed against them † also.

The

* Certainly, according to republican principles, and even according to those of liberty and equality, Brissot's party did not merit death; as, however, by all other principles they had merited it an hundred times, their death was a victory to those who wish to see order established in France; it was the first great step towards the purging their miserable country of those men who had ruined it.

† By way of ridicule, Brissot was placed on an elevated seat during the trial, with all his partisans around him; he appeared pretty collected and tranquil. The president of the tribunal, in order to second the clubbists who petitioned the convention to shorten the proceedings, wrote, that nothing could equal the loquacity of the accused, that the trial had
lasted

The first step was for the violent Jacobins and members of the club of the Cordeliers to extort from the convention a decree, which abridged, as they termed it, those forms *which enchained the consciences of jurymen and stifled conviction*. It was decreed, that the jury might shorten the proceedings and refuse to hear witnesses, by declaring to the judges “that their opinion is formed.” By this means, say they, you may for the future elude the question of forms.

When this decree for eluding forms was passed, the mob carried it to the tribunal, and the obedient jury declared the process was at an end, and condemned to death Brissot, Vergniaud, Genfonè, Duprat, Valazé,* Lehardy, Ducos, Boyer Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fouchet,† Duperry, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainvielle,

lasted five days, and that only nine witnesses had been heard; that there was no reason why there might not be 400 witnesses brought forward, and that therefore there was little hopes of finishing.

Englishmen, contrast this conduct with that of your judges and juries in criminal cases, and you will at least suspend experiments of reform, till you see how a nation, once in the convulsions that a revolution brings on, may get rid of them. If civil causes in England were tried with as much regard to justice as criminal causes are, we should then indeed be a happy people. This merits investigation, and demands it.

* Valaze cut his throat in prison; he had been an officer in the regiment of French guards, and aided the revolt at the beginning of the revolution.

† Fouchet was an abbé before the revolution and became a bishop; he opened *a hall for political lectures* in the beginning of the revolution; and to excite the people against aristocrats, he said, that it was the aristocracy of the Jews that

Mainvielle, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze, as authors and accomplices of a conspiracy which existed against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, against the liberty and safety of the French people. Their property to be confiscated to the republic, and the execution to take place, &c.

The day after, the 31st of October, the execution took place, with the unusual ceremony of the discharge of artillery.* The people, who usually attend such ceremonies, were uncommonly gay and pleased when they saw so many of the representatives mount the scaffold; and in this, if they shewed no humanity, they shewed at least that some idea of justice still remained.

condemned Jesus Christ. Clootz turned the tables against him at last, and said, that Jesus Christ was an aristocrat, for he ordered to render unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's, and spoke of lords and masters; this, said the Prussian philosopher, is against liberty and equality.

* The condemned deputies cried *Vive la republique!* when they were on the scaffold. Brissot preserved his usual *sang froid*, and remained silent; he was guillotined last of all.—Thirty-seven minutes were only necessary for the execution.

The ruling party in France has uniformly pursued one method with accused persons; they are always encouraged with hopes of life till the moment sentence is going to be passed, and after that they are never allowed to speak. This rule was never more useful than on the present occasion; otherwise, the loquacity of the condemned might have produced some discoveries not much to the advantage of their accusers.

When Danton and his party were guillotined in their turn the year after, they were condemned at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six the same evening mounted the scaffold. From ancient companions this treatment was a little hard.

It was during the detention of those deputies that Marat was assassinated by a most extraordinary woman, who appears to have imagined, that that Monster was the only one in the convention. Charlotte Cordé will ever be esteemed for her heroism and fortitude, but it will always be lamented, that a woman of such courage and good intention, should be led to commit assassination; and that by the eternal harangues made in favour of Brutus,* and particularly by the man whom she assassinated.

The fall of Brissot's party disconcerted the Jacobins in all other countries. A similarity of views had connected several of those leaders with *the patriots* of other nations, some of whom boasted of a personal acquaintance with Brissot, and all of whom considered him as a model for a revolutionary leader. So cruel a fate excited great uneasiness among them. The revolution now began to devour its own children; it had long ago put to flight its fathers, and from the national convention to the farthest corners of Europe, revolutionists inquired with eagerness *when this butchery of the deputies would end?*† In France they butchered those who asked the ques-

* Mirabeau was the first who was called the French Brutus; since his time many Brutus's have appeared. We have seen fathers demanding the condemnation of their sons for singing royalist songs, by way of imitating the Romans. This cannot be attributed to any thing but that derangement of intellects called fanaticism.

† A plot was contrived in consequence of this question having been asked, and several deputies, Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, amongst others, were guillotined for this childish but anti-civic anxiety.

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tion, and who explained themselves, that it was not from any anxiety about the deputies, but because it would be an amusement to the aristocrats, that they wished the butchering to cease. The amusement of the aristocrats, however, was a lame excuse, for every day saw them mount by dozens the scaffold, and they had still more reason to weep for the loss of friends, than to laugh at the destruction of their enemies.

About this time there were above six thousand prisoners in the prisons of Paris, and the other jails of the kingdom were proportionably full. The total number of persons confined in France was estimated at above two hundred thousand, of which number were the richest bankers, merchants, and manufacturers.

Equality was the end proposed, but an agrarian law could not suit a corrupted people; it was thought much better to attack fortunes individually, by accusing the possessors, and confiscating the property; this was done in all the great towns in the kingdom. But as the acts of injustice and cruelty became so multiplied over the whole face of the country, it is impossible to give any sort of form or order to the detail of what was going on; the reader is therefore referred to note of detached facts at the end [*Note Q.*] of the work, where it will be seen in what a summary manner people were arrested, judged, and executed.

The life of a man was now no longer considered as of any importance, and therefore guilt or innocence was scarcely inquired into. All
those

those who had no protectors in the Jacobins clubs were liable to fall, and those who had any enemies in them were certain of their fate.

Most part of the people who had any property, had some good-natured friends amongst the Jacobins, who wished to ease them of it; and as all confiscated property was put up to sale, and sold upon very easy terms, the way to become a man's heir was to accuse him, and have him guillotined. The only limit set to this practice was, the fear of *becoming a proprietor*, which could not fail to bring on the same fate sooner or later, so that the danger of possessing property was now the only thing that afforded any protection to the proprietor.*

With respect to the cultivators of land in France, they were forced to work, but they were also forced to give up the fruits of their labour at a fixed price paid in assignats, and then they were put upon an allowance of so much bread for each person every decade (or ten days). The slaves in the West India colonies enjoy more liberty than those poor peasants, who were obliged to call out *vive la liberté*, in the midst of their misery, and a murmur against their rulers was sufficient to have them dragged from their families, and thrown into prison, and probably led to the guillotine.

To add to all these misfortunes, bread and nourishment were almost wanting. Paris was the best supplied, and there were but one hun-

* It is difficult to conceive this *maximum* of wretchedness; proprietors, in France, were situated like a dog with a silver collar in one of the bye streets of St. Giles's.

dred and fifty cattle slaughtered every week. There were almost as many men slaughtered as there were oxen ! !

The Jacobin club continued to dictate to the assembly, and the assembly continued to spread terror and desolation through France. That terrible period was now arrived when the history of the republic offered nothing but a daily repetition of robbery and murder, and when robbery and murder were scarcely any longer objects of hatred or of terror. The spectators had long been dead to the feelings of humanity on those occasions ; they were now dead to every other feeling, and to every emotion. Not a day passed that the bloody tribunal did not send victims to the scaffold, and the populace went to look on as an affair of habitude, and as a method of passing time. Even the unfortunate sufferers seemed to have lost their feelings, and a few excepted, neither fear nor grief was to be perceived on their countenances.

Not an hour past that injustices were not committed, that would raise general indignation in any other country in Europe, and afford matter of discussion for months, and perhaps for years. The names of the most part of the victims in France were forgotten in less than half an hour, and their crimes were never inquired into at all.

A few exceptions, however, are to be made to this general uniformity. The Duke of Orleans, long so active and so powerful, was brought to Paris from Marseilles, where he had been imprisoned in consequence of a decree for imprisoning
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all the princes of the house of Bourbon. Neither the name of *Egalité*, by which, at his own request, Manuel had christened him, nor his formal declaration, that he was the son of a coachman, and therefore not of the royal blood; not even his voting for the death of the king could screen him from the vengeance of Hebert and Danton. He was accused of being the accomplice of Brissot's party; this was sufficient to condemn him before the revolutionary tribunal, he was guillotined the same day, and died with more fortitude than those who knew his cowardice on many different occasions expected.* The lesson which the fate of this prince gives to men, who, in a high rank of life, disturb the peace of their country from motives of ambition or of vengeance, is written in such legible characters, that it requires no commentary. In his short passage from the prison to the scaffold, he was insulted by the same scoundrels whom he had formerly paid; and the general contempt into which he had

* The Duke of Orleans was a coward from calculation, rather than from nature. When there was any mode of escaping, or when he had an alternative, he never risked himself. The secrets of which he was master, induced his enemies to keep him in hopes till the last. When he arrived in Paris from Marseilles, he was actually persuaded that he was to be again re-instated in his palace. As soon as the sentence was passed, the execution was hastened, and the first prince of the blood went thither in a cart, accompanied by a stock-broker, an under delegate of a department, and a journeyman slater!! This was at least that equality which he had so long pretended to seek after!!

Among the crowd was one of the duke's agents, well known in the first two years of the revolution, St. Huruge. This fellow was, it is said, particularly vociferous in insulting the duke.

fallen,

fallen, was evident in the countenances of all the spectators.

To the Duke of Orleans succeeded M. Bailly, the former mayor of Paris, and Manuel and Barnave. The rulers of the present time, seemed determined to destroy all those who had ever enjoyed any degree of popular favour. The deaths of Manuel and Barnave could be regretted by none; that of M. Bailly was different, he had been the cause of much evil, but he was ignorant of the great extent of the evil of which he had laid the foundation.* A good deal is to be attri-

* M. Bailly, of whom much has already been said, because he was of the first who protected insurrection, and brought it into vogue, was esteemed before the revolution for several publications, particularly his *Lettres sur l'Atlantide et l'Histoire de l'Astronomie*. The sudden elevation of Bailly to the place of president of the assembly, and after that to the mayoralty, had a great effect upon literary men, not only in France, but all over Europe. A revolution seemed to be the triumph of genius, and above all of literary merit. His punishment operated likewise upon the minds of the people in different countries; if the virtue, the good fortune, and the talents of Bailly, could not save him from the scaffold, said they, it would have been better for him to have continued to live quietly on his pension of ten thousand livres a year, and not revolt against the king who gave it him. It would, indeed, have been better. M. Bailly was dragged to punishment with particular marks of infamy, because he was condemned for having assassinated the people in the Champ de Mars. It would seem that some particular infatuation prevented such men from quitting France, where their system of government was just as much out of date as that of Louis the Fourteenth. The fate of M. de Clermonte Tonnerre on the 10th of August, and of all the constitutionalists, whom their enemies could lay hold of, might have served as a warning to him, that nothing was to be expected but death, if he remained; the Jacobin system had perpetually

attributed to his vanity and ambition, but more to his ignorance. Though a man of learning and of science, he was totally unskilled in the art of leading men to happiness; he had fallen into all the mistakes to which the declaration of rights leads, and his errors might have been forgiven, had he not been selfish and ungrateful.

On the same day that this ancient magistrate, astronomer, and member of the academy, was suffering for his having become a politician, a fête was celebrated in the cathedral of Paris, to the honour of reason, virtue, and philosophy. At this fête Hebert presided, and the bishop of Paris officiated to the sans culottes at Paris, in the midst of a scene of licentiousness and ridicule.* The intention was to banish religion from France

perpetually been to turn with implacable vengeance against those who had once been popular, but were not ready to follow them in all their extremes. This plan had been regularly followed from the beginning, and his not having seen that, shews that M. Bailly was by no means, in political affairs, a man of profound knowledge; on the contrary, he seems not to have at all conceived the progressive motion from bad to worse, and from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock.

* At Lyons, the *feast of the ass* merits notice for its singularity, all the constituted authorities, the revolutionary tribunal, and the guards, assembled at the Hotel de Ville with an ass. Commissaries were sent to seize the plate in all the churches; the poor animal was then dressed in a bishop's robes, with a mitre on his head, and a bible attached to its tail; the sacred vases, &c. were put on its back, and followed by a procession of the club, the municipality, &c. it was then marched to the Place de Bellecour, where it was burnt, along with the bibles, prayer books, robes, &c. with this inscription, remains of superstition; the whole attendants calling out, *vive les sans culottes*.

entirely; as that had been very nearly accomplished already, the substitution of what they called reason was thought necessary, that on the decades people might have something to do, and not fall back through idleness into their ancient errors.

Amongst the sufferers by the guillotine, the generals of the republic made a very conspicuous figure. Even Houchard, who commanded at Dunkirk, when the English under the Duke of York were repulsed, was obliged to lay his head upon the block. As to those who had not been successful, it was perfectly natural that they should be executed, and accordingly very few of them escaped.

Robespierre did not, however, yet reign alone, and what is more, was not the most sanguinary of those who did reign. Hebert, and some of his companions were worse still, and Robespierre was frequently obliged to interfere to prevent their cruelties from going too far.* Robespierre was the most methodically and unfeelingly cruel, but

* Hebert had repeatedly demanded the death of the remains of the unfortunate royal family, and declared himself incapable of containing his rage when he saw the sister of Louis Capet (the virtuous Madame Elizabeth) in existence, after so many crimes. Her features, said he, are a picture of her atrocious heart. Robespierre had treated Hebert as a fool; but a man who was capable of such IMPRUDENT denunciation, was not fit for an associate, and he was dangerous as a rival. Robespierre could scarcely expect that his own physiognomy would be safe from the attacks of this inconceivable disciple of Lavater, and accordingly, as soon as he found himself attacked by him, his vengeance was prompt and severe. Hebert had been the principle cause of the death of Bailly, and the other friends of the constitution.

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he does not seem to have been cruel from enjoyment in the slaughter of his fellow men, but from system.* Hebert, Petion, Manuel, and many others, seem to have enjoyed cruel actions, and committed many merely for the sake of the pleasure, which their diabolical minds received; but † Robespierre did never give any signs of such a disposition; cool, interested cruelties seem to have been what he excelled in; he would have sacrificed three-fourths of the human race to have reigned over those who remained, but it would not have given him any pleasure to assist at their execution.

The cool, calculating murderer is, however, the most terrible of all, ‡ when he has it in his power,

* In the back ground all this time was the Abbé Seyes, he was one step beyond Robespierre in cold, systematic cruelty, and one step farther removed than him from the other party in personal vengeance, and cruelty in detail. One might be apt to attribute to principle, and not to selfish motives, this *abstract sort of cruelty* of the Abbé Seyes, were it not that the man who has always lent his aid in council to the usurper of the day, must be very selfish, and equally void of all principle.

† The manner in which Petion and Manuel tormented the king, when that unfortunate monarch was prisoner in the temple, is a proof of their cruelty in detail. The manner in which the whole of the royal prisoners were treated, was only equalled by the particular instances of cruel mortification, which when either of those two went to the prison, the king and queen were certain to experience. Charles the First never experienced any thing harsh or hard, in comparison to what Louis the Sixteenth suffered.

‡ It was by this cool method of proposing assassination, that Robespierre was enabled to follow out his cruel plans with order and method. The others went without order, and sometimes ceased their crimes for a moment, but Robespierre

power, and finds it his interest to be cruel; for as he does not even take the pains to think what it costs humanity to gratify his views, he does upon the great scale what others do on the small. It was the organization of the system of terror by Robespierre, that gave Collot d'Herbois the means of massacring the inhabitants of Lyons with grape shot;* that gave le Bon, the national commissary,

pierre brought it to that pitch, that *every day innocent blood was shed as certainly as the sun rose*. There was no method of eluding persecution and death under the reign of a man who had vowed the destruction of all his enemies, of all his rivals, and of all those whose reputation or property gave them any share of importance. This man had thousands of agents, and the tribunals were always ready to execute what he ordered. This has been fully proved since, for as each faction falls to the ground, its crimes are brought to light.

Although the revolutionary tribunal did not acquire all its activity in Paris till the time Robespierre reigned *alone in Paris*; yet it is to be considered, that as the other towns in the kingdom had not the same means of resisting oppression that the capital had, an inferior degree of power was sufficient for oppressing them; besides, Robespierre and the Jacobin club acted together, so that any resistance from the departments was impossible to be attended with success. In Paris, on the contrary, the Jacobin club had some rivals in the other societies, and of consequence its power was not absolutely without limit. It is here necessary to observe once for all, that though those fraternal societies or clubs differed in their names from the Jacobins, as each had its orators and favourites, yet the whole of them were nearly the same as to revolutionary and sanguinary principles. With respect to the world at large, they were all Jacobins alike; with respect to their favourites alone were they different, and this difference was only perceivable to the people in Paris.

* Collot d'Herbois, and d'Orfueil, two indifferent comedians, who had the management of the affairs at Lyons, put to death three thousand prisoners with grape shot. They were all put into one large square, all the avenues were shut up, and then the canons began to play upon the miserable victims. Many
were

commissary, the means of exercising unheard-of cruelties in the north of France, and Talien at Bourdeaux. It was to the systematic cruelty of Robespierre that the excesses of Carrier, the execrable Carrier, at Nantes were owing, when men, women, and children were drowned in boats without respect to age or sex, or guilt or innocence.

The system of terror was supported by swarms of commissaries and agents, with unlimited powers, who went through the whole of France ;*
their

were only wounded, because when once they fell from any severe wound, they seldom were again struck by the shot ; these were, after languishing, put to death by pikes and the bayonet. Many were thrown into the Rhone half dead, and carried off by that river.

An affectionate wife who implored mercy for her husband, was chained to the guillotine while he was executed.

Le Bon has been, since he was commissary in the north, and since the death of Robespierre, denounced for numerous acts of wanton cruelty. As for those of Carrier, at Nantes, they were so enormous, and proved in so distinct and satisfactory a manner, that they merit particular notice, and are to be found in the transactions after the death of Robespierre, when the change of men and measures led to their discovery.

* Besides the clubs which were so numerous, and which were centers of re-union every where for the robbers, there were estimated to have been above fifty thousand agents of one sort or another, going about like roaring lions, seeking whom they might devour. Barrere complained in the convention, that besides these regular and good agents, there were men in red bonnets, with pantaloons and long sabres, who collected the taxes, and put the money received in their pockets. He supposed these tax gatherers to be Hebertists ; but let them be of what sect they might, it is pretty clear, that the frogs and locusts were not near so terrible, and they could not be much more numerous than the patriotic banditti
who

their great business was, to find out the suspected persons and the aristocrats; to find out where any treasure was concealed; to bring accusations against people who were rich; to enforce the law that fixed the price of provisions; and to procure recruits for the army, horses, carriages, and grain.

The revolutionary army,* clothed in black, faced with red, was intended to enforce obedience if it was wanted; but so great was the dismay which those rigorous measures had occasioned, that force was not necessary, a few soldiers, who were at the command of the commissaries, were sufficient to exact the most absolute obedience in the hardest of cases.

If grain was wanted, and the farmer refused to deliver it, he was shot at his own door.† Were the

who desolated France. These latter filled every place, the frogs and locusts could do no more, and they could neither burn, ravish, nor assassinate.

* Robespierre disbanded the revolutionary army as soon as he got fairly the victory over Hebert, but his real motive for doing so does not appear very evident. It seems to have been through some secret fear of his enemies having more interest with the generals of that army than he had himself, otherwise it was an excellent institution for the support of the revolutionary government. Had Robespierre kept this army at his command, and in his interest, it would have been more difficult for his enemies to get the better of him than it afterwards was; but Robespierre probably considered that this army received his orders from the committee of public safety, and that as he was not certain of always reigning there, it would be better to trust to the Jacobin club alone for power and protection.

† An agrarian law would not have been half so unjust as this mode of taking the grain. The one only divides the soil, the

the sons demanded for the army, and the affectionate father hesitated, the whole family was dragged away or massacred, without form of process or delay, and the neighbours durst not venture even to look on, much less to shew signs of grief.

The miseries of the people were not a little augmented by numbers of false commissaries, who committed the same excesses as the true; and as nobody dared ask a commissary to shew his powers, those vexations went on almost always without either discovery or punishment; it was only when the true commissaries and the false

the other divides its produce, and of consequence robs the labourer of what arises from the sweat of his brows. The mode of punishment was, they allowed, rather severe, but it was *necessary, it was revolutionary* (they should have said revolting).

These expeditions to compel the peasants to give up their grain and their children, were always attended with pillage, and whenever it suited them, with ravishment and murder. Imagine a detachment of this army arriving in a village, and placing a centinel at the door of the house they were employed in searching, with a bloody flag flying. Imagine all the neighbours shutting their doors, and trembling till their turn should arrive, while the father, mother, and children were suffering those cruel vexations of which we have spoken, without daring either to resist or cry out, which even if they did, it was to no purpose, and was certain to finish with the massacre of the whole. Blind submission alone screened the inhabitants from the last of the excesses, for wherever there was the least hesitation or murmur, all pity and respect was at an end.

By this time there was no possibility of putting a stop to oppression, it arose from so many different causes, and its agents were so numerous, so desperate, and so impossible to be traced out, that there was nothing to be done but to wait for some of those movements in the capital, which, whatever its nature might be, would regulate the whole of the republic.

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met on the same spot, that either took place, for the inhabitants trembled at the name, and durst never make an inquiry.

The cries of liberty and equality never abated in the midst of all this misery, where it might truly be said, that there was not a man in France who did not rise in the morning under the painful sensation of vengeance to fear, or vengeance to gratify, and frequently of both.*

Robespierre, during this progress towards the maximum of human woe, fell ill, and Hebert, who was the orator and oracle of the club of the Cordeliers, took advantage of his absence from the Jacobin club and the national convention; a new revolution was threatened, and at first the advantage seemed to be in favour of Hebert, but it only seemed to be so, for though the club of the Cordeliers was more violent than that of the Jacobins, and even surpassed it in atrocity and extravagance, yet it did not possess the great authority which the affiliations gave the latter all over France.† The club of the Cordeliers was

* Since the fall of Robespierre, those persons who acted with him, or under him, have thought proper to throw upon him and his party all the odium of these measures, and to attribute to him all the misery which followed; but it is to be hoped, that nobody will give them credit for one moment for such an assertion.

† We have already observed, that the club of the Cordeliers had proposed to have a legion of twelve hundred king-killers regularly trained, and bound by an oath to extirpate the race of monarchs. This plan only wanted one thing, like Collot's project for blowing up the prisoners in Lyons—it wanted bold executioners. As to the similarity of stile and sentiment with the

was very well for Paris, but the Jacobin club was for the whole of France, and Robespierre was triumphant.

The battle of savage beasts in the Arena is interesting only because it is a display of fury and force. That of Hebert and Robespierre is not so on any other account; the fate of both must be indifferent, yet curiosity is excited when two such enemies of the human race give a little repose to mankind by turning their efforts against each other.

Hebert was procureur of the municipality,* and as such could reckon upon its support.—Robespierre was the chief of the committee of public safety, in which several members seemed to favour the Cordeliers. This gave Hebert courage, and on the second of March he began his attack by denouncing Robespierre.

the Jacobins, we may cite the speech so much applauded in that latter society made by Robespierre's brother. "I am not," said he, "a lover of human flesh, yet I would willingly eat a pye made of all the kings in Europe." It was a wonder that he did not prove by that species of logic, so much in vogue, that kings were monsters, and not men, and that therefore this would not be eating human flesh. The boasted constitution was founded on arguments little better than this, and it is certain the French people would have adopted the idea with admiration and enthusiasm.

* The municipality had undergone many revolutions since the 10th of August; one set of vagabonds had made place for another. But in all these there was only a renewal of crimes, accusations and vengeance; so that they have been past over. Besides, it is now become impossible, as well as useless, to attempt following out the confusion of men and things that was in Paris; the main outline only can be drawn, and even that but imperfectly.

The committee of public safety had arrested a favourite member of the club of the Cordeliers. It was determined to demand his liberty: a black crape was thrown over the bust of Marat, as a sign that the *friends of the people deplored the fate of the people*. Carrier mounted the tribune of the club and said, “ Cordeliers, you want to compose a *Journal Maratist* (after the manner of Marat) I applaud your design, but that will be only a feeble defence against those who wish to kill the republic; *insurrection, holy insurrection, that is what you ought to oppose to wicked people.*”† La Fayette the father of insurrection, could not have spoken more to the purpose, nor with more effect, for Hebert followed, and with general approbation, repeated the demand for a *holy insurrection*. These changes, but still more the enthusiasm they occasioned, made the committee of public safety, and even the Jacobin club, stagger for a moment; but the victory was not of long duration; and as soon as the party of Robespierre saw their superiority, a report was made in the name of the committee of public safety, the conclusion of which was, that Hebert and his accomplices ought to be arrested; it was done accordingly on the 14th of the month.

This was the most remarkable and the most vigorous combat that had yet taken place between two clubs. This was a proof that CLUBS AND
INSURRECTION

† It is very surprising that Carrier should have outlived the fall of Hebert after such a speech; and it is equally surprising that the advocates of the French constitution should cry out against the anarchists, considering *the purity of their principles and their attachment to the main article of the rights of man.*

INSURRECTION were just as necessary for supporting despotism, as they were for resisting government. This is precisely what we have found the revolution proving all along; and upon this instance we find it confirmed in the most decided and unequivocal manner.

The different popular societies, or clubs, of Paris had come to join that of the Cordeliers, on the day that the members had been arrested. This formidable junction prevented the constituted authorities of Paris from taking any decided part by congratulating the assembly, as was their usual practice when vigorous measures were taken, and when those vigorous measures ended in victory. Cuthon, the intimate associate of Robespierre, and who afterwards mounted the scaffold with him, made on the 18th a speech to the convention, in which he declared his astonishment that the municipality and the revolutionary army, so ready on other occasions to congratulate the assembly, now remained silent.* A decree was then passed empowering the committees of public safety and of general security to examine the conduct of the constituted authorities in Paris, amongst whom were many traitors. This

* The victory of Robespierre on this occasion seems to have been occasioned by this speech of Cuthon, which, by putting his enemies in fear, made them come over to his side. It was the neglect of following the advice of this same Cuthon, that brought Robespierre's party to the guillotine in their turn a few months after. All this shews that rigour and activity (and no half measures) are the means to disconcert those who want to rebel. Rebels are often cowards, and factionous men always are; so that their occasional courage is exactly measured by the idea they have of their force.

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had the desired effect; and the next day the municipality of Paris sent to felicitate the assembly on its courage, and make excuses for having been so slow in its congratulations. The committee of public safety immediately named Cellier and Legend, two of its partisans, to fill the places of Hebert and Chaumet at the municipality. This bound the members of the municipality to the side of Robespierre, and his triumph was now certain. So true is it that, in cases of revolt, strength finishes by being on the side where it is supposed to lay. The municipality no sooner thought by the boldness of Cuthon, that it was on the weaker side, than it actually, by transferring its power to the other party, decided the victory.

Boldness and promptitude, it would seem, are the chief qualifications necessary to a leader of revolutions; we shall see this exemplified still more in the triumph of the enemies of Robespierre a few months afterwards, when that same municipality, that now joined him through a conviction that he was stronger than his enemies, by endeavouring to support him on the same idea, drew down a very heavy vengeance on itself.

During this interval, the convention, or rather the ruling party, shewed its power, and gratified the people by putting to death a number of persons, amongst whom were several of its own members.

Whilst the constituted authorities congratulated the assembly for the victory of Robespierre, the revolutionary army, which Cuthon had likewise

wife accused, sent a deputation to congratulate the Jacobin club. It was proposed by a member of the club that the revolutionary army should take an oath never to obey any other but the committee of public safety and the national assembly. This was done with enthusiasm and unanimity; and Robespierre declared from the tribune of the club a moment after, that the conduct of the revolutionary army was above all praise. *

To this succeeded a plan for an address to all the clubs in the kingdom on the new conspiracy, which had been discovered and stifled; but Collet d'Herbois, who now joined Robespierre with warmth, though he had kept aloof till the victory was declared, objected to the address as not being sufficiently vigorous; accordingly he wrote another, and presented it, which other was adopted.

The next operation was, to purge the club and the ministry of the friends and adherents of Herbert. But the triumph did not end here; the conquered club of the Cordeliers came by deputation to congratulate the Jacobin club on the victory it had obtained over themselves, alledging that they had been misled. The Jacobin club, in

* The orator of the revolutionary army addressed the club thus: "Citizens, you see before you brave republicans, sincere friends of their country, and who will always be worthy of the name they bear. You see before you those whom calumny had pointed out as your executioners, but never should we have consented to such a crime. Those who could have had the baseness to propose to us such a crime, would themselves have fallen under our indignation."

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the pride of victory, refused to admit this deputation, or to have any connection with the Cordeliers, until they were purified, by striking off from the list of members all those who were of the party of Hebert. This humiliating condition was complied with, and the enemies of Robespierre were proscribed every where. From this time the club of King-Killers, which had been presided by the patriot Marat in its better days, and which had always been the most violent in its patriotism, sunk into insignificance.

The accusation against the party of Hebert was now brought regularly forward; it included many of the personal enemies of Robespierre, and is a very curious relic of Jacobin despotism.* Had Hebert triumphed, the same charges would have been brought against Robespierre, and the public would have applauded in the same manner as it did in the present case.

The accusation was to this purpose, that the accused were the agents of the coalesced enemies of France; that they had endeavoured to starve the nation, and to degrade the convention; that they had endeavoured to re-establish monarchy;† and that the moment for seizing all power,

* Hebert, Cloutz, and Kok a Dutch banker, with seventeen other persons, one of whom was a woman, were comprehended in the same accusation; but, as they were only known for their sanguinary projects, and those were now become so common as scarcely to attract the attention of the people on the spot for more than a few hours, it is not worth while to repeat them.

† It seems a little singular that Hebert, who had distinguished himself on all occasions against the royal family, who had

power, and employing it in this atrocious manner, was nearly arrived, when luckily it had been discovered.

With respect to the proceedings of the tribunal, they deserve no particular notice ; to be accused and condemned was all the same thing.

The whole of these violent enemies of government and of religion were conducted to the scaffold on the 29th of the month, amidst the hisses, the reproaches, and evident marks of joy from the people. *

Hebert was insulted more than the others, and all the gross witticisms with which he used to load his enemies, or with which he generally insulted the unfortunate, were applied to himself. This monster, one of the greatest which the revolution had produced, ended his career like a coward along with nineteen persons, all of them deserving of death, but certainly, not all accomplices in the

had fabricated the infamous accusation against the queen, and who was president of the club which, above all others, had railed violently against kings, should be charged with being the agent of the coalesced powers. This shews, that now either very little attention was paid to the opinion of the people, or experience had taught their leaders to think that they were so confused, or so credulous, that any thing would be believed. Hebert, it will be recollected, was judge at the Hotel de la Force, and delivered over Madame de Lamballe, and the other prisoners, to the assassins.

* Anarcharis Clootz, who had figured so often as the orator of the human race, said he would appeal to all his constituents for his innocence. The portion of his constituents who were present were diverted with that idea.

the same project, as some of them were at that time enemies.

This is a second victory gained over the enemies of the human race, in that miserable country where crimes and punishments were multiplied to a degree of which there never has been, and, it is to be hoped, never will again be an example.

The revolution had now accelerated its course, like a comet when it approaches the sun, and events succeeded each other with an amazing rapidity. The execrable party of Hebert was executed only on the 29th, after a struggle of a few weeks, and Danton, Camille de Moulins, la Croix, and Philipeux, were arrested early on the morning of the 31st, as accused of having conspired with d'Orleans, Dumourier, and Fabre d'Eglantine, in order to re-establish royalty, and destroy the republic.* In this charge were included many more persons, and in the punishment, more still---Herault, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, a Spanish banker named Gusman, the Abbe d'Espagnac, General Westerman, Chabot, and his two brothers.† This

* When Camille de Moulins was interrogated as to his age, he answered, "The same at which the sans culotte Jesus died, thirty-three years." Danton, when questioned as to his abode, answered, "My residence is a non-entity, and my name will no longer exist but in the pantheon of history." Danton treated the judges with great contempt, and threw balls of bread at the face of the president. The criminals, judges, jury, and spectators seemed rather to be acting a farce than any thing else; all was uproar, and a sort of savage merriment during the time the prisoners were at the bar.

† We speak in England of a *batch of peers*. This seems not to be much amiss as a batch of scoundrels. But it is very difficult

This party did not make the usual sort of struggle for victory; others, as we have seen, resisted before their arrestation, but not after. Danton, and his companions were taken suddenly and unexpectedly, they therefore could not resist; but when before the tribunal, they were as loquacious as Brissot's party, and much more resolute.

To get rid of the arguments which they produced, and which puzzled the judges, and of the insults which offended them, a decree was solicited from the convention, declaring the accused refractory, and ordering that refractory people should be condemned without being heard. While the decree was getting ready, Danton and his companions were persuaded to retire for refreshment into an adjoining room, and they were not allowed to re-enter the court, till the decree was arrived. This finished the business; they were condemned without any more form or ceremony,* dragging along with them a number of persons detained in the prisons, who were suspected, as it was pretended, of intending to rescue the criminals.

During this violent conflict amongst the leaders, France looked on peaceably, and the army

difficult to conceive how they could be all jumbled together in one accusation.

* Even with such men as Danton, this mockery of judgment is revolting. The sudden arrestation of Danton was thought to be owing to a declaration made by Hebert, not of any intentions of Danton's party against Robespierre, but of Robespierre against Danton.

was quite passive. As soon, however, as victory was declared, all the constituted authorities, the clubs, the municipalities, the departments, and the commanders in the kingdom, joined in addresses of congratulation, and in enthusiastic expressions of approbation.

Robespierre, at the head of the committee of public safety, of the Jacobin club, and of the municipality of Paris, was now a despot single and alone. Those who saw him only from a distance, conceived that he was one of those great men who can controul events, and domineer over fortune: those who approached him nearer, knew well that his success was owing to circumstances, more than to his own abilities; but all joined in fearing, detesting, and in granting a fervile obedience to his despotic will.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

General view of the situation of France with regard to its enemies—Assignats—Conduct of the coalesced powers—New method of attacking by masses of undisciplined troops—Energy of the Jacobins, and their efforts in England and America—Retreat of the combined forces—Robespierre reigns alone—Bloody decrees and perpetual massacres—Madame Elizabeth, all the farmers general, and ancient judges condemned—Jacobin despotism come to its last pitch of horror—Robespierre begins to decline—His enemies venture to accuse him—The tyrant loses himself; he hesitates and delays—His fall, and that of the violent party.

DURING the different contests amongst the parties at Paris, the revolutionary measures for recruiting the army had produced an immense crowd of soldiers. It had been decreed that the nation was to rise in a mass. This decree at first seemed ridiculous, but its effects were frightful. The method of repulsing their enemies from the lines of Wissembourg, which had perfectly succeeded, inspired the committee that conducted the war, with an idea of carrying it on in a manner hitherto unheard of.

The

The lines of Willembourg, defended by excellent soldiers, might be attacked, but could not be forced by any multitude of raw men, whatever their number might be, until the veterans were worn out with fatigue. Orders were received from Paris to attack these lines day after day, and new levies were made to supply the place of those who were killed on the French side. What was proposed succeeded; the lines were abandoned after a defence renewed every day with great vigour and bravery, during three weeks; fresh enemies were always opposed, and the secret of the method of making numbers triumph over discipline was discovered.

It is to this discovery on the side of the French, and the want of any measures to counteract its consequences on the part of the allies, that the misfortunes that so soon after took place, are to be principally attributed.

The retreat from before Dunkirk, with a great loss to the army commanded by the Duke of York, had given courage to the French army in the north, which had been much discouraged by the precipitate retreat made by Dumourier, the battle of Famars, and the taking of Valenciennes. The republican armies in the south had retaken Toulon, and kept Spain at bay. The great numbers of troops sent against the royalists in the Vendee, in consequence of the imprudent conduct of England, had effectually checked that alarming revolt. In Italy and in Savoy head had been made against the combined efforts; so that, before the winter had fairly set in, the convention
fav

saw its armies triumphant in some parts, and in all out of immediate danger.

The great discovery made at the lines of Wissembourg was, however, the most important victory. It gave a hint for a plan which the state of France and its despotic government, as well as its position, and the nature of the people, rendered very practicable.

The despotism of government furnished the convention with the means of forcing the peasantry to the army, and their own misery inclined many to prefer arms and bread to oppression and starvation. The law of the maximum, the assignats, and the guillotine, furnished horses and provisions for the army, and means of paying the foldiers. The decay of all trade and commerce left plenty of people idle to make arms and accoutrements; so that, though France could not find either good foldiers, nor good equipage, she could raise them quickly, and in great numbers. This was precisely what was wanting to put in practice the new mode of attack determined upon.

The revolutionary government and the law of the maximum had deranged every calculation that had been made at the beginning of the war, with respect to the force and resources of France; and it is not to be wondered at if nobody was able to foresee the effects of two measures, which were totally new in their nature, the like of which never had been seen, and the possibility of which had never been thought of.*

Without

* The depreciation of assignats went on in a rapid career, and very nearly as had been calculated, until the revolutionary government,

Without these two measures the army could neither have been recruited nor supplied, but with them, the last man in the country able to fight, and the last sack of corn to eat, was at the command of the convention.

The coalesced powers, during this time, made no attempts to rival the convention in ingenuity, though the horror of its crimes ought not to have inspired them with any contempt for their genius, and for the resources which were at their command.

The convention had organised massacre, but it had gone further to encourage discovery in such arts as it had use for, than any government that ever existed. Men of merit were not guillotined, they were flattered and rewarded, and every new hint, every new idea, was received with thanks; most of them were put to the trial, and whatever was found deserving was adopted.

France, during the ancient government, was a nursery for science, and above all for military science. There were vast numbers of men of merit, who had formerly been neglected, who now started forth to notice; not as the political fire-

government, by putting people's lives in question on all occasions, put disputes about the value of property out of the question.

The error of those who counted upon the ruin of assignats, from the great increase of their quantity, and the weakness that would soon follow in the French government, was only, therefore, occasioned by the unforeseen event of a new species of tyranny. This is farther proved by the rapid depreciation of assignats since the government became less violent.

brands

brands started up in the clubs, but as men of knowledge and genius always will when left at liberty, and when they meet with encouragement.

A man who would have been obliged to dance attendance half his life-time after the minister of war, or of the marine, only to receive the honour of an audience, where he was more likely to be treated with contempt, than to be encouraged, could now make himself certain of a candid hearing, and a fair trial, and the vices of a government which produced such advantages he very naturally overlooked and became zealous in the cause.

History ought not to be written with an intention to lead men into errors, but to *teach them by example*; therefore, from the same principle that we blame the conduct of those who have covered a miserable country with blood, we must praise the means which they took to defend themselves and their cause against their enemies; we most decidedly blame them and their cause, but when that is done, we must not refuse them those qualities of another sort, with which their blameable actions were accompanied.

On the side of the allies we have seen no exertion, except according to the common routine of making war; millions of money, and thousands of lives have been sacrificed to no purpose, because they would not condescend to look at their enemies, and see with what sort of arms they fought.

An

An indifferent spectator, if such an one, there can be in the present contest, would think that, when the greatest nations in Europe joined to protect themselves from a species of anarchy that menaced them all with ruin, they would have laid aside every consideration but that of self-preservation; and that when they condescended to fight with the armies of the convention, they might have condescended to study the means by which they might be the most easily resisted.

It would have been very natural for the combined powers, after experiencing the unfortunate end of the campaign of 1793, to have studied, though late, the best way of re-commencing the operations in the spring with a probability of success; and, in order to begin, they should have considered the new method of attack, which the French had with success adopted.

The French had called their government republican, and European statesmen calculated upon the want of energy that republics display; but when France had transformed itself into the most despotic of governments, that calculation could no longer hold good, and should have been abandoned.

The convention did not let its interior divisions derange the military operations. The committee which directed the plans of the campaign was directed by old experienced military men, who had nothing to do with the different parties, and who were protected by all of them. Those men spared neither pains nor expense to ensure their undertakings success, and intrigue was added to military

military skill. Commissaries were dispatched in a mysterious manner to Mayence and Frankfort, in order to give some appearances of a treaty being on foot with the King of Prussia. This puzzled and perplexed the different cabinets, and augmented that mistrust, which is generally the ruin of armed coalitions. The king likewise, who on his part wanted to be well paid for his services by the other powers, acted as mysteriously as the commissaries, and England and Holland were induced to give him a large sum, on condition of his keeping up the army which he had on the banks of the Rhine. The uncertainty of the event of this negotiation, till the campaign was ready to open, prevented those plans of operations from being laid, that were so necessary.

Measures were taken and means were employed on the side of the French, for a vigorous and offensive campaign ; and, on the side of the allies, measures were not thought of, and means were wanting.

A spirit of discontent reigned amongst the officers of the allied armies. The greater number of the Austrian officers had not tasted repose since the beginning of the war with the Turks in 1788.* The English officers who had come over only for glory, not finding that glory so likely to be acquired since the affair of Dunkirk, and despising the Dutch troops with whom they had come to act, were discontented, and wished to return to

* Nations seem to get tired of war in about seven years. If there is any rule for estimating such a thing : few wars end much sooner, or continue much longer. It is well known, that when both parties are tired, they give over.

England. Though this never hindered the English and Austrians from behaving bravely in the field of battle, it damped the operations, and prevented that cordiality, that alacrity, and exertion, which were so necessary.

The states of Brabant, too, had many pretended grievances against the house of Austria; the wounds received during the last revolt were not yet healed, and though they saw the plundering disposition of the enemy they had to deal with, no cordial support was given to the Emperor; and certainly if the reign of liberty, equality, and assignats, is established amongst them, they may blame themselves for it, and not the Emperor, who personally is as irreproachable as any of the coalesced powers.

The French began by paying spies and informers at an immoderate rate, and the coalesced powers refused to pay any thing that was worth while for the ingenuity and risk of a spy, nevertheless the campaign opened very brilliantly for the combined powers in Flanders. The superiority of discipline and courage over masses of peasants was never more conspicuous, but the military committee at Paris had expected this, and was not discouraged.

The fate of the lines of Wissembourg put them perfectly at their ease, but as long as they acted on the defensive, that plan could not be adopted.

The order therefore arrived for General Pichegrue to penetrate into West Flanders, and leave the victorious army of the Emperor to the right ;
this

this succeeded, and the allied armies were obliged to separate, to prevent the French from getting possession of that rich country, and all their stores, which were at Ostend, Ghent, and Tournay, as well as to prevent them from falling upon their rear, which might happen, if no efforts were made to drive them back.

Menin and Courtray were taken, and Lille served as a support for the French army. Great courage was displayed by the Austrians and the English, and it is only doing justice to the Emperor and the Duke of York to say, that no two commanders ever shewed greater courage; and in the unfortunate affair between Courtray and Lille, few generals ever conducted themselves better than his Royal Highness; but the race was not now for the swift, nor the battle for the strong, the incessant and unremitting efforts of a mass that augmented every day, proved victorious.

General Clairfayt behaved with equal conduct and bravery, and with a very small army disputed the possession of West Flanders, inch by inch for fifteen days running; but the fate of General Wurmser, at the lines of Wissembourg attended him, and it was found in vain to remain, a good retreat was all that remained for him to attempt, and this he certainly accomplished.

It was well enough known before the campaign opened, that the finances of the Emperor were exhausted; the payments made to those who furnished his armies, shewed this. A loan, similar to that which has since taken place, was proposed

posed in England, but why it was not then adopted, it is difficult to conceive; or if it was for good reasons refused then, why it should be adopted now, is still more difficult to conjecture. The disappointment of this assistance in money, added to an invidious kind of an idea circulated by French emissaries amongst the Austrian officers, that England, which had got the West India islands, was alone likely to profit by the war, and Austria alone likely to suffer, completed a misunderstanding already begun.* The fate of the campaign was now determined, the allies had nothing for it since they had separated, but retreat, and accordingly each army began in its own way to march off.

But though the places of West Flanders were falling into the hands of the French every day, Charleroi, which is on the direct road from the French frontier to Brussels, opposed a vigorous resistance. General Beaulieu, on the banks of the Sambre, had repulsed the enemy repeatedly, but the fate of Wurmser attended him also. Charleroi was repeatedly relieved, once by the Emperor in person, and the Hereditary Prince of Orange displayed before it equal conduct and bravery; but all this signified nothing, the French mass flying from famine and the guillotine, came on, and Charleroi, after being nearly

* The decree of the convention, ordering no quarter to be given to English and Hanoverian soldiers, increased the dislike of the soldiers of the Austrian and British armies; it was considered by the former as a token of esteem and regard, and by the latter it was thought to denote an unfair intention of leaving them in the lurch.

demolished,

demolished, was obliged to surrender.* Brussels then fell a second time into the hands of the French, and the combined armies formed a chain of posts from Maestricht and Aix-la-Chapelle to the borders of Holland.

The Duke of York made an appearance of a stand at Antwerp, where he had taken a position behind the river Scheldt, but the certainty of being attacked day after day, till his army should be fatigued and diminished, made it prudent to retire without being attacked at all.

Thus was the single discovery of a new plan of attack, productive of the most complete train of victory ever witnessed, and where numbers triumphed over bravery, and the discipline and tactics of war, such as they have been practised in Europe since the invention of fire-arms.

* The armies having once separated and abandoned the frontier towns, it was not possible to make any stand, until they had traversed the country, and come to another chain of fortifications; but though any serious stand was impossible, there does not appear to have been any occasion for their precipitancy, the confusion, and the want of order with which the retreat was made. It was a retreat of regular and well-disciplined troops, with generals regularly bred, who fled before a mass of peasants, without discipline, and headed by men of yesterday; yet the order and regularity was all on the side of the undisciplined peasants, for the regular troops were in great confusion. The reason was certainly that the former followed a plan, and the latter were guided by no plan, and neither had resolution to make a stand, nor prudence to send off their magazines and stores before them; sometimes they had the appearance of intending to retreat no farther, and every thing remained for a few days stationary, then all at once they set off and left part of their stores behind them.

With

With regard to the manner of the retreat, and some of the mistakes committed in it, we shall speak hereafter.

As the French armies advanced in one of the most fertile countries in the world, they exchanged their assignats for every sort of necessities, and the whole of the money spent during thirteen months by the allied armies, with a great part of their stores remaining on hand, fell into the possession of the conquerors.

One of the most surprising things in all this was, to see old experienced generals, when reduced to the necessity of abandoning that country, do it without taking any of the precautions that are so necessary. There was no plan, no system in their retreat, while the army of Sans Culottes turned every thing to their profit, with as much system and regularity as if they had been accustomed to conquest during a century.

Had the French armies been obliged to abandon Flanders and Brabant, they would still have been immense gainers by the conquest and momentary possession of it, for every thing was immediately and regularly put in requisition for assignats, a part was sent to France immediately, and the rest was all ready to be sent upon the shortest notice.*

Whilst

* Perhaps activity, energy, and combination of invaders, never gained a greater victory over the opposite qualities in those who abandoned a country, than on this occasion. The tariffs of merchandizes of all kinds, at the price of the maximum, were circulated and proclaimed every where; soldiers were supplied with assignats to purchase what they wanted,
but

Whilst these things were going on upon the continent, the factious democrats of England* having got the better of the fear which the punishment of some of the members of the pretended Scotch convention had inspired, began again to arrange their plans of attack upon the English constitution.

The corresponding societies, or affiliated clubs, redoubled their activity, and things were going on so as to have procured, in time, all the advantages of liberty and equality, such as we have seen established in France. Luckily, however, ministers were still upon their guard, and the plans in agitation were discovered before they were quite ready to be executed. The ministry, by a laudable stretch of power, arrested a number of persons concerned, and obtained a suspension of the habeas corpus act, which is the guardian of the rights of citizens in ordinary times, but the suspension of which is necessary for the safety of the nation in times of public danger.

but robbery and pillage were punished with death, without the least mercy. By this the soldiers were supplied with every thing at no expense; the army might be said to exist by pillage and robbery, yet the smallest act of theft was punished with death. Our armies, on their retreat, paid for every thing they wanted in hard cash, and at a high price, and yet on account of a few irregularities, were accused of pillage, while the invaders were praised for their discipline. This requires and deserves a longer investigation than we can with propriety give it here.

* This name may appear hard, but we must confess, after following French democrats, first through their reforms, and then through their massacres, it is not easy to pardon those who would risk beginning the same system in England.

The

The freedom of a nation is to a certain degree; the enemy of its safety; but as it is absolutely necessary to give to every body politic a means of protecting itself,* the English patriots of the last century, with much less metaphysical whim than the constituent assembly in France, but with more attention to the real welfare of the nation, were not afraid of entrusting posterity with a power of preserving the constitution in cases of danger, by making it lawful for the three powers of, king, lords, and commons, to suspend a law, which, while it is a security for the good citizen, is also a protection for the bad. Where men are governed by written law, it is always possible to stir up discontent without incurring any pains or penalties, because the letter of the law is obliged to attach itself to open acts. Now open acts, of a seditious nature, are not always necessary to excite discontent, and bring on insurrection. The advocates of the democratic side say, why do not ministers wait for open acts? They might as well ask, why does not the traveller wait till the robber has discharged his pistol.

The suspension of this act was evidently necessary, for though the individuals apprehended had not committed any actions that seemed to a jury to come under the description of *treason*, for which they were indicted; yet their trial proved evidently that affiliated clubs were established for the purpose of effecting a reform, which affiliation being a new invention, there did not exist any law for punishing it.

* For a fair and plain examination of this, see an anonymous publication, *Scylla more dangerous than Charibdis*, published by Mr. Stockdale, a few months before the act was suspended.

The acquittal of the men who were tried, just depended upon this circumstance of the law not having foreseen the species of transactions of which they were guilty, and of consequence not having determined the punishment which they were to draw down.

The success of the French arms, as we have seen, was owing to the discovery of a new mode of conquering good and regularly disciplined armies, by attacking them day after day without intermission, by bodies of fresh troops: the combined armies were defeated because they had not discovered a method of resisting this sort of attack. The constitution of England was in danger, and still is in danger, of sinking under the CO-OPERATIONS OF AFFILIATED CLUBS, and that danger will not cease until laws are made to prevent such co-operations.*

Confederates, affiliated, have ruled over France, and we see to what they have reduced it: and until the laws of England have extended their dominion to this new species of attack upon the peace of men, there will be no security. Confederates will assemble for purposes that seem to

* A work is in forwardness upon this subject, recommending to the legislature of England, to pass an act, making it a crime for self-elected societies to enter into combinations upon political reforms. The basis of which work is, that such combinations give a small minority of persons so connected, an undue influence in the nation, and that a great majority, *unaffiliated*, may be domineered over by an inconsiderable number of *affiliated confederates*; and that therefore, though the object in view may itself be lawful, and even meritorious, this mode of attaining it is dangerous and unconstitutional.

be praise-worthy, and when once properly established, they will do what they please.

Fable was invented, in order to convince men by a shorter mode than argument, and by a mode that made a deeper impression upon the mind. History has, however, a double advantage, when attended to, it leads us to unerring conclusions, without having recourse to long arguments ; and it is impossible in the present case not to see that the affiliated clubs, or corresponding societies, were the first causes, as well as the supporters of the unexampled crimes and miseries of France.

Weapons of offence have always been invented before weapons of defence. Swords and spears were known before shields and helmets. Gunpowder was invented before Demoiivre and Vauban altered and perfected the art of fortification ; but it must be allowed, that during these intervals, there must have been considerable danger to the human race. Revolutions must at such times have been very easy, if the method of attack had been brought to any considerable degree of perfection, before the mode of defending was known.

The Jacobins met with no physical difficulties, such as the inventors of cannon had to struggle with, the physical difficulties were all overcome by the invention of printing and post roads, so that the affiliation of clubs was realized almost in an instant. The danger that mankind runs from this invention is great, till a remedy is found out ; and as a proof, we refer to the history of the revolution of France.

The English government, whilst it acted with becoming severity towards those who wished to stir up dissension, has by no means acted wisely with respect to the principles which those men professed. We have already observed, that persecution, in cases of opinion, produces obstinacy, and not conviction; and it is very certain, that if affiliations continue to be permitted, they will end in being victorious; they will end in making the people think themselves oppressed; ministers should employ the powers now in their hands, not to resist wise reforms, but to prevent men from demanding wise reforms, in a manner inimical to the constitution, and to the interest of the majority. It would be as well to see the House of Commons reformed by a regiment of mutinous soldiers, with arms in their hands, as to see it reformed by an affiliated minority of the nation.

The justice of the reform, and the manner of attempting it ought not to be confounded; but as ministers have gone to work, they are confounded together, and will continue to be so; and if England should ever have the misfortune to have the confidence of their king given to ministers who approve of *affiliated confederacies*, a revolution will be operated immediately. The punishment of a few individuals will not avert the danger, and it is below the rulers of a nation to employ that power in searching to punish a crime which might be employed to prevent it.

The United States of America have not been free from the same attempts of affiliated clubs; rebellion actually broke out at their instigation,*
and

* The following testimony of Mr. David Osgood, M. A. an American clergyman, proves, that America has been in danger

and certainly it was not because the Americans are not free that such a revolt took place, and such manœuvres, but it was because the disturbers

danger from clubs, and that a *free republic* is no more secure against their manœuvres than a free kingdom.

“ On the same principles with those in France are founded
 “ the democratic societies in this country; and should they
 “ become numerous here, as they are there, they will infalli-
 “ bly have a similar effect. Their pretence is, to watch
 “ government—they mean the fœderal government. But
 “ this, like each of the state governments, is chosen by the
 “ nation at large; and, of course, every man in his individual
 “ capacity has an equal right and an equal interest in watching
 “ its measures. What presumption then is it, and what an
 “ usurpation of the rights of their brethren, for private asso-
 “ ciations, unauthorized by the laws, to arrogate this charge
 “ to themselves? Admitting the propriety of setting a watch
 “ upon congress and the president, are not the state legislatures
 “ fully competent to the business? Is not their interest at
 “ stake, and their jealousy always awake, ready to notice
 “ any fault or error in the general government? What then
 “ is there for these private associations to do? Good they
 “ cannot do; and if they do any thing, it must be evil.

“ Their meetings are so many collections of combustibles;
 “ and should they be generally extended, the whole country
 “ will be in a flame. The members of those societies, by vir-
 “ tue of this relation, necessarily become the mere tools and
 “ dupes of their artful leaders, who have their own ends to
 “ serve by all their professions of patriotism. ‘The moment
 “ a man is attached to a club, his mind is not free; he re-
 “ ceives a bias from the opinions of the party: a question in-
 “ different to *him*, is no longer indifferent, when it materially
 “ affects a *brother* of the society. He is not left to act for
 “ himself; he is bound in honour to take part with the socie-
 “ ty—his pride and his prejudices, if at war with his opinion,
 “ will commonly obtain the victory; and rather than incur
 “ the ridicule or censure of his associates, he will countenance
 “ their measures, at all hazards; and thus an *independent free-*
 “ *man* is converted into a mere walking machine, a conveni-
 “ ent *engine of party leaders*.’ In this way a few ambitious
 “ individuals are enabled to extend their influence; and as
 “ they

ers of public repose who composed those clubs having the power to create disturbance, never want the will, and that if there is not a Bastille to overturn, they set about overturning a General Washington.

When Robespierre had got quit of his open enemies in the interior, the first apparent change was in the greater method in the murders committed by the revolutionary tribunal, and, of course, greater expedition; the next thing was the disrepute into which the religion of reason, as instituted by Hebert, fell. Chaumet, and Gabet, the bishop of Paris, who had contributed to that fête, were condemned for wishing to introduce atheism into France, which it was declared

“they rise in power and consequence, to infringe upon the
“liberty of the public.

“Each individual member of the state should have an *equal*
“voice, in elections; but the individuals of a club have more than
“an equal voice, because they have the benefit of another influ-
“ence, that of extensive *private attachments*, which come in aid
“of each man’s political opinion. And just in proportion as
“the members of a club have an undue share of influence in
“that proportion they abridge the rights of their fellow citi-
“zens. Every club, therefore, formed for political purposes,
“is an *aristocracy* established over their brethren. It has all
“the properties of an *aristocracy*, and all the effects of tyran-
“ny. It is a literal truth, that the *democratic clubs* in the
“United States, while running mad with the abhorrence of
“aristocratic influence, are attempting to establish precisely
“the same influence under a different name. And if any
“thing will rescue this country from the jaws of faction, it
“must be either the good sense of a great majority of Ame-
“ricans, which will discourage private political associations,
“and render them contemptible; or the controuling power
“of the laws of the country, which, in an early stage, shall
“demolish all such institutions, and secure to each indivi-
“dual, in the great political family *equal rights* and an
“*equal share of influence* in his individual capacity.”

Pitt

Pitt and Cobourg were at the bottom of, in order to animate other nations against the French.

The system of terror now came to its last pitch of perfection : amongst a variety of rulers who differed in opinion, if there were a number of vengeance, there were also some who were saved from punishment by favour and protection ; but Robespierre and his terrible committee had all the same enemies and the same vengeance : accordingly St. Just made a report from the committee sufficiently severe to gratify them. This report contained twenty-six different articles to the purpose, that all people accused of plotting against the republic, in whatever part they were, should be brought to Paris to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal ; that their accomplices should be sought after and brought to Paris likewise. That no foreigners nor nobles of either sex should be allowed to remain in Paris, nor in any of the frontier or maritime cities of the kingdom, from which they were to be obliged, under pain of death, to depart in three days : that all persons who shall ever have been heard to speak against the revolution, all persons who had neither trade nor profession, unless they were infirm or lame, should be transported to French Guyanne : that all citizens who do not discover those who hold incivic discourse, or are guilty of other crimes, are to be considered as accomplices.

And, in addition to all, that the constituted authorities should confine themselves to doing their duty, and that they should be immediately under the controul of the committee of public safety.

This

This was laying the foundation for denunciation and punishment, without any sort of bounds or restriction.

Although the number of persons put to death, and the obscurity of the greater number would render it tedious and disgusting to enter upon that detail, yet, as the three months of the reign of Robespierre and his committee are the only example of pure and uncontrouled republican tyranny, we cannot pass over it without taking notice of a number of the victims who from circumstances were the most remarkable.

On the 19th of April M. de la Borde, one of the richest bankers and merchants in France, and seventy years of age; M. de Guiberville, ancient president of the parliament of Paris, with his daughter and granddaughter; a director of the India Company, and counts, countesses, servants, and common workmen, about twenty more persons were put to death.

Next day six ancient presidents of the parliament of Paris, two presidents of *la cour des aides*, and fourteen members of the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, and Dijon.

Each day saw the same scenes renewed; the virtuous M. de Malsherbes, who had defended his royal master, with all those of his family who remained in France; the famous and once popular M. Desprimesnil, who first resisted the court in 1787; the Duchess of Grammont, the Princess Lubomirska (a Polish princess) and twenty-four other persons, besides thirty-five inhabitants
of

of the city of Verdun, accused of favouring the Prussians, were, in the course of a few days, sent to the guillotine.

The Duke de Villeroi, M. Nicolai, president of the grand council, M. de Crofne, the ancient lieutenant of the police of Paris, and M. Delany, civil lieutenant at the age of seventy-eight, with thirty-six more persons of different ranks and sex, and from eighteen to seventy years of age, suffered the same fate.

This was now the triumph of men who had always feared and disobeyed the laws over those who had respected and executed them.

All these bloody scenes were acting, whilst the combined powers were advancing in the month of April; it was at last, however, impossible for the committee of public safety any longer to conceal their defeats, and accordingly Barrere mounted the tribune on the 30th of that month, and, after expatiating against the aristocrats, who exaggerated the misfortunes of the republic, he finished with representing them as trifling, and with a wish, that he had the loss of some important place to announce, which, said he, would waken up the nation, and make it display that energy which was not to be found amongst republicans, but when they are actuated by shame and revenge.*

The committee acted in the manner of the cruel minister of some Asiatic despot; the people

* Barrere, in this avowal, does not do great honour to the republican character.

were called the sovereign, and they were treated as some sovereigns are; their passions were flattered, and truth, when disagreeable, suppressed. Desertion was at this time so frequent amongst the *mass*s of citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, particularly in the south of France, that by a proclamation of the commissaries, Robespierre the younger, and Salicetti, all such, together with those who gave them shelter, were declared as traitors to the country: they, and their relations who gave them an asylum, were to be delivered over to the tribunals as royalists, and the municipalities were ordered to make search after such. This measure seemed so excellent to the committee that ruled in Paris, that a decree was passed, rendering it general for the whole kingdom.

Thus, after the system of liberty and equality had proscribed nobles, clergymen, and rich proprietors; after it had made a number of laws, which, from their severity and general signification, put the life of most of the inhabitants in danger; by one clear and positive law, it was made death for any young man, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, to be seen in France except in the armies.

The occasion which Barrere had affected a few days before to seek soon arrived; on the 4th of May, he mounted the tribune, rather, however, as if he wished to avoid giving the news of the taking of a city belonging to the republic. "Citizens," said he, "*victory has absented itself for the moment* from the French camp, but the army of the north will soon compel it to
VOL. II. Z " return.

“ return. Landrecy is no longer ours.” Before this news was certain to the committee, added he, it was announced with a melancholy voice and dejected countenance by many persons who are aristocrats in disguise, and who affect to be sorry though they inwardly rejoice. The aristocracy will never be corrected, it must be annihilated; every moment tumults are excited in the large towns by the aristocrats on pretext of famine; sometimes they are directed against the butchers, sometimes they are directed against the bakers, and when the masters are not excited to insurrection, the workmen are excited against them for an advance of wages. All those efforts are directed by traitors, against whom we ought to employ every exertion. To this complaint followed a decree, which put in a state of requisition all those citizens who were employed in manufacturing, carrying, or selling objects of necessity. A second decree followed that, ordering the public accuser to prosecute, before the revolutionary tribunal, all those who spread abroad bad news, or who seem to have laid a plan for frightening the people.

The day following a decree was passed, which tended to send the whole band of the farmers-general to the scaffold. The whole were accused of mal-practices under the old government, and as such delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal.

Whilst Barrere was thus exerted in averting the anger of the people from the committee, by pointing out new victims, forty-eight more of the number mounted the scaffold, amongst whom were the two brothers Tassin the bankers, a rich

a rich notary, a rich stock broker, and many gentlemen, several of whom were above seventy years of age.

But the vengeance of the committee was not to be satisfied with such victims, whilst there remained in the prisons of the Temple the virtuous Madame Elizabeth. This princess, against whom, except Hebert and his companions, no person had ever ventured to utter a complaint, not that there wanted plenty who had malevolence enough, but that it was impossible to give any sort of probability to accusations brought against a woman, who, to benevolence and virtue, added a degree of moderation and prudence, left no foundation for attack.

The same day that twenty-eight farmers-general mounted the scaffold, this princess was sent for from the Temple, carried before the tribunal, and, without either defence or accusation, was condemned, and immediately sent to the place of execution.* With regard to an act of injustice towards an individual, this is, perhaps, during the whole of the revolution, the most flagrant, the most unprovoked, and the most useless.

* The interrogation of this princess was stopped on her saying she was aunt to the king: *no other* crime was attempted to be brought to her charge, she was immediately sent to the place of execution, and even the spectators seemed to be sorry, so that the committee lost rather than gained by this cruel act.

O Death ! made proud by pure and princely beauty,
The earth hath got no hole to hold this deed ! ! !

Fifty more victims of different descriptions, amongst whom were many of the very lowest class of workmen and several ancient financiers and nobles, were led to execution next day, and the remainder of the farmers-general were carried off by one, two, or three at a time ; even the great age of M. Mercier, who was seventy-eight, and whose mother had given suck to Louis XV. could not save him from the fate that attended his companions.

But along with the innocent fell also many persons who merited richly their fate ; Jourdan, surnamed the cut-throat, who had presided at the massacres of Avignon, now suffered for his crimes, Robespierre had new armies of cut-throats as good as this man, and his affected pre-eminence, by assuming to himself a title which belonged equally to all the ministers of the tyrant, was of itself a sufficient crime.

It would not have been at all surprising, if some enraged relation, or lover, or friend of one of the victims of Robespierre, had really assassinated him, but there was but one Charlotte Cordy in France, unless such as existed in Robespierre's imagination. At this time, however, on the 23rd of May, one Cecilia Regnaut, daughter of a stationer in Paris, who seems to have been deranged in her mind, but without having any fixed plan, came to the door of the house where he lodged ; her questions made her suspected to those who suspected almost every one, and she was conducted to prison.

Whether

Whether this foolish girl really intended to attempt taking the life of Robespierre or not is of very little importance; but it served as an occasion, in conjunction with an attempt made at the same time to assassinate Collot d'Herbois, to prop the declining popularity of those violent patriots, and to renew the enthusiasm of the people. In the Jacobin club, Cuthon, who had overturned the Cordeliers, proposed, *that by a spontaneous movement* the club should solemnly declare, that the British government, the authors of those assassinations and crimes, committed against the representatives of the people, was guilty of *leze humanity*. All the members rose to approve of this. Robespierre in person was present, and next day Barrere made a report to the assembly on the subject of the assassinations, which concluded with accusing England of many crimes towards the republic and the neutral powers, and directed above all against the national representatives. It was upon this occasion that a decree was past, which forbid the soldiers of the French armies to give any quarter to English or Hanoverian prisoners.

Robespierre then began to speak :* “ It will
 “ be a superb subject for the contemplation of
 “ posterity, it is already a sight worthy of heav-
 “ en and earth, to see the representatives of the
 “ French people placed upon an inexhaustible
 “ volcano of conspiracies, with one hand lay at
 “ the feet of the Eternal, the homage of a great
 “ people, and with the other lance thunder against
 “ the tyrants conspired against them ; lay the

* The speech of the tyrant is too long to be given complete, and too curious not to be given at all.

“ foundations of the first republic in the world,
“ and call back amongst mortals, exiled liberty,
“ justice, and virtue.

“ Surrounded with assassins, I have already
“ placed myself in that new order of things where
“ they wish to send me. I am no longer attach-
“ ed to life but by the love of my country, and
“ a thirst after justice ; I find myself more and
“ more prepared to attack with energy those
“ wicked persons who conspire against my coun-
“ try and the human race. The more they haf-
“ ten to send me hence, the more I will exert
“ myself to be useful to my fellow creatures ; I
“ will leave them at least a testament that it will
“ frighten tyrants and their accomplices to read.

“ The destiny of the republic is not yet made
“ sure, the vigilance of the representatives of the
“ French people is more necessary than ever.

“ The republic does not depend upon riches,
“ nor victory, nor dominion, nor momentary en-
“ thusiasm ; it depends on the wisdom of its laws,
“ but, above all, on public virtue ; it is necessary
“ to give stability to law, and to regenerate man-
“ ners. If either of these fail, there will then
“ only remain error, pride, passions, factions, am-
“ bition, avarice ; the republic, far from correct-
“ ing such vices, will give them free scope, and
“ vice leads naturally to tyranny. Whoever is
“ not master of himself, is made to be the slave of
“ others.* Would you know who the ambi-

* The strange mixture of good and bad in the discourse of democratic leaders, marks evidently a derangement of intellects.

“ tious are ? Consider who those are who protect
 “ rogues ; who encourage those who seek to de-
 “ stroy the revolution----those who execute the
 “ crimes, who despise virtue, and corrupt mo-
 “ rals.

“ Some perverse beings have contrived to
 “ throw the republic into a state of confusion ;
 “ we must extricate it, and create moral and po-
 “ litical harmony. The French people has two
 “ certain guarantees of that regeneration, in the
 “ principles of its representatives and its own vir-
 “ tue. It is easy to consolidate liberty, or easy
 “ to destroy it. If France were governed only
 “ for a few months by a corrupted, a mistaken
 “ assembly, liberty would be undone. Your
 “ unanimity and energy have astonished and con-
 “ vinced Europe ; if you know that as well as
 “ our enemies do, you would easily triumph.

“ I have mentioned the virtue of the people,
 “ and that virtue proved by the whole of the re-
 “ volution, is not sufficient alone to defend us
 “ against factions. Why so ? because there are
 “ *two peoples* in France ; the one is the mass of
 “ pure citizens, plain men, lovers of justice and
 “ liberty.

“ The *other people* is composed of the factious
 “ intriguers ; it is that babbling mountebank,
 “ artificial people, which fills every place, and
 “ abuses every thing ; which fills the tribunes,
 “ and often discharges public functions. It is
 “ that people of rogues, strangers, and counter-
 “ revolutionary hypocrites,* who place them-
 “ selves

* All these epithets would not have been sufficient, with-
 out the word counter-revolution. In La Fayette's days, two
 thieves

“ selves between the French people and their re-
 “ presentatives, to deceive the one and calumni-
 “ ate the other, and to counteract their opera-
 “ tions. As long as that impure race shall exist,
 “ the republic will be unhappy, and its duration
 “ precarious ; it is your business to deliver it by
 “ an awful energy, and by a determined unanim-
 “ ity. Those who seek to divide us, and to stop
 “ the progress of government, those who cry
 “ out every day against it, and who form a dan-
 “ gerous coalition to oppose government, are
 “ your enemies, and the enemies of your coun-
 “ try ; they are the agents of other nations, and
 “ the successors of Brissot, Hebert, and Danton.

“ In saying such things, perhaps I am sharpen-
 “ ing those poignards which are directed against
 “ me, and it is therefore that I say them. Per-
 “ severe in your principles and in your triumph-
 “ ant career, you will then stifle crimes and save
 “ your country.----I have lived long enough——

“ I have lived long enough, I have seen the
 “ French people rise from the meanest slavery to
 “ the height of republican virtue and glory. I
 “ have yet seen a greater wonder still ; a prodigy
 “ which the corruption of monarchical govern-
 “ ment, and the inexperience of the first period
 “ of our revolution, made us regard as impossi-
 “ ble ; an assembly invested with the power of
 “ the French nation, marching with a rapid and
 “ firm step towards public happiness, devoted to
 “ the cause of the people, and to the triumph of
 “ equality,

thieves were murdered by the people for stealing silver spoons.
 The citizens of Paris were enraged at the mob, till they were
 informed that they were aristocratical thieves.

“equality, worthy of giving to the world the
 “signal of liberty, and the example of all the
 “virtues.

“Finish, citizens, finish your sublime destiny ;
 “you have placed us in the front to sustain the
 “first attack of the enemies of humanity----we
 “merit that honour, and we will trace for you,
 “with our blood, the road to immortality. May
 “you always display that unalterable energy of
 “which you stand in need, to stifle all the mon-
 “sters of the universe combined against you, and
 “at last enjoy the public benedictions due to
 “your virtue.”*

Such was the speech of Robespierre, upon which the only comment necessary is, to contrast it with his own actions, and with the actions of those whom he celebrated as virtuous republicans.

During all these harangues about virtue and justice, and the purity of the people, and of their representatives, the executions of suspected persons went on ; from ten to fifteen were executed every day, and a new degree of terror, and activity of punishment was preparing.

Robespierre had now reigned some time alone ; and what for himself was more dangerous, the people saw that he reigned alone, and his colleagues felt it, so that though all the sections of Paris came to congratulate him and the assembly on his escape, his popularity was on the decline, Bourdon de l'Oise and Talien were the first who

* This was on the 25th of May.

ventured to shew their discontentment openly, and from the moment they did so, it was looked upon as certain that they must fall, unless they should be lucky enough to overcome the tyrant.

The speech of Robespierre was certainly intended to give hopes to the people, and as a threat held out to his enemies; but what were the people, were they to be caught with professions of virtue and justice from the mouth of Robespierre? or his enemies, could they be intimidated, when it had so long been known that the least suspicion was sufficient to carry his most intimate friend to the guillotine?

The tyrant had said, his time was but short, and he would employ it well, accordingly he set about a fête in honour of the Supreme Being, which was just as ridiculous as any of the other fêtes of Hebert and his associates.

Robespierre acted as high priest in this ceremony, which was intended to destroy Atheism; * and which the people thought was to re-instate the Supreme Being in his rights. But neither farcical ceremonies, nor unmeaning phrases, could

* This fête was celebrated in the garden of the Thuilleries; Robespierre, after preaching a sort of sermon, descended from a balcony of the palace, with a lighted flambeau, and set fire to a monument representing Atheism. When this monument was reduced to ashes, a statue of Pallas, representing Wisdom, started up as by enchantment; from thence they went to the Champ de Mars, and the ceremony finished with applause bestowed on Robespierre, who had so domineered over the people of Paris, that printed papers were distributed before the fête began, containing a description of the whole, and marking the points of his speech which they were to applaud.

long

long contain the people, who saw their armies triumphant in Flanders, who were therefore no longer afraid of invasion, but who still wanted bread and a change of masters.

Two days after the fête of the Supreme Being had been given, Cuthon (on the 10th of June) came to the assembly, and proposed a decree on the new organization of the revolutionary tribunal, which may be considered as the last perfection given to the system of terror, and the maximum of human ferocity and injustice, and as such merits being preserved for an example to posterity.

After three articles which regulate the form of the tribunal, a fourth article declares, that it is instituted for punishing the enemies of the people.

The enemies of the people are defined to be, all those who search to destroy liberty by force or by fraud ; those who seek to establish royalty, or to destroy the convention and the revolutionary and republican government, of which it is the center.

Those who, as commanders in the armies, or in any public office, or military office, have held correspondence with the enemies of the republic : who have laboured to promote famine, or to prevent provisions from arriving at the armies or into Paris.

The enemies of the people are those who second the powers at war with France by conniving

ing at the retreat or evasion of conspirators and aristocrats; those who persecute or calumniate patriots, who bribe members of the convention, or who find fault with the principles of the revolution, or the laws or measures of government, by false and perfidious explanations.

Those who deceive the people are the enemies of the people, to lead them into errors unfavourable to liberty.

Those who discourage the people, in order to favour the tyrants coalesced against France.

Those who have spread false news, to divide and trouble the people.

Those who have sought to lead the people into wrong opinions, and to prevent their instruction; to deprave and corrupt their manners and the public conscience; to change the energy and purity of revolutionary and republican principles, or to stop their progress, either by counter-revolutionary writings, or other insidious machinations.

The punishment for all crimes brought before the revolutionary tribunal is death.

The proof necessary for pronouncing a verdict, is every kind of document, whether material or moral (moral documents are a new invention); whether written or verbal, which carries naturally evidence with itself.

The rule of judgments is the conscience of the jurymen; their view is to ensure the triumph of liberty

liberty ; the means is such proceedings as good sense dictates, as being proper for determining the truth of facts.

Every citizen has a right to seize and carry before the magistrates all conspirators, and is bound to denounce all those he knows to be such.

The convention alone can deliver over the accused to the revolutionary tribunal, with the exception of the committees of public safety, and of general surety, and the members of the assembly sent out upon commission ; but the constituted authorities may do so if they have the permission of the two committees.

Examination privately is suppressed.*

If there exists proofs, either material or moral, independent of testimonial proofs, *it will not be necessary to hear or examine witnesses, unless when that FORMALITY is necessary to find out the accomplices.*

The law gives for defenders to patriots, who are accused, patriotic jurymen as voluntary advocates ;† *it allows none for conspirators.*

This criminal code would require no sort of

* Under such a criminal code, it would be possible to attack any person whom it might think convenient to condemn.

† *Defenseurs officieux*—persons, whether lawyers or not, who plead without hire, sometimes of their own accord, sometimes by order of the court, but by the name it was originally, probably, a voluntary service.

commentary, were it not that it is only putting in writing what had been the practice during the greatest portion of the revolution, which an English orator declared was the most glorious fabric of integrity ever raised by man. Another English orator spoke of the distinction between *the true public and the false*. We see that Robespierre in his speech, after the attack meditated on his life, spoke also of the *true people and the false*; so that it appears that great statesmen in all countries stumble nearly upon the same ideas, and that Robespierre was not removed in theory so very widely from English patriots, as he happened to be by the circumstances of the times and his own situation.

In the time of the first assembly, Robespierre was suspected of having too much humanity; but we see how revolutions improve men, and develop their characters; by giving scope to the application of theory, we see how that camelion ambition, leads men to change their manner of acting.

When Cataline by rapine swell'd his store,
And Cæsar made a noble dame a whore;
In this the lust, in that the avarice,
Were means, not ends, ambition was the vice;
For had that Cæsar liv'd in Scipio's days,
He'd aim'd like him by chastity at praise;
Lucullus, when frugality could charm,
Had roasted turnips at the Sabine farm.

We must never trust much to the humanity of theorists, who are willing to let loose the people for the sake of an experiment. The alchymist is
avaricious

avaricious, but he is not economical.* A reformer, who will talk a week to save a seditious man from the gallows, would, perhaps, hazard the lives of a million of his fellow subjects in order to try an experiment, and when once in danger of losing his credit by his bad success, he would, when half his country was covered with massacres, and himself on the brink of destruction, invoke, even in the jaws of death, his favourite system.

In Brissot's time, the supreme court at Orleans was constructed nearly upon the same principle as the revolutionary tribunal, and Garan de Coulomb a famous philanthrope, and his intimate friend, was one of the leading members of that court. M. de Lessart; the minister; La Riviere, the justice of the peace, and the other forty-five victims, afterwards immolated to the patriotic fury of the people, were all sent to that court to be tried for nondescript crimes against the people; and this Brissot was the friend, and some suppose, the model of patriots in England. The distance between reformers in this country and in France, is not therefore so great in reality as it may appear to be.

It would only be a fair precaution for the nation to take, for its own safety, to have the French

* Is not there a great similitude between the *charlatan* who duped Balbinus of his gold, in order to make him rich, and the charlatans, who enslaved and ruined France, by way of making it free and happy? More gold, Balbinus, and more blood, Parisians; new experiments will ensure success; and in so talking, alchymists lose their gold, and nations their liberty.

laws printed for the inspection of lawyers and jurymen, when the trial of persons who are *active amateurs* of French liberty, are to come on; it would form a glorious contrast for England, and perhaps might convince the amateurs themselves of their mistake.

What would a learned counsellor here say to that article which sets aside evidence by witness where there are *moral documents*? or to that which allows defenders to patriots, but none to conspirators? Attention being duly paid to the circumstances, that it is not merely a matter of chance that brings men before a tribunal, and that till a defence is made, it is impossible, to know whether the accused is a patriot or a conspirator.

The worship of a Supreme Being had been decreed, and it would appear that Robespierre, when he united in himself the functions of Moses and Aaron, was determined that sacrifices should not be wanting. A new conspiracy was discovered by his emissaries, and besides the common victims of the day, a number of nobles and princes were sent to the guillotine as accomplices of the girl who was suspected of an intention to murder the lawgiver and high priest, Robespierre.

The whole family of the foolish girl, her father, brother, uncles, aunts, all were sent to the place of execution;* so that as a sort of atonement

* It has appeared since by the declaration of Fouquier Tinville, who was public accuser at this time, that Robespierre wished more people to be executed upon this occasion, in order to give the affair greater eclat, but that he had objected to it

ment for the deed intended, seventy-two victims mounted the scaffold, amongst whom were twenty-one ancient judges of the parliament of Thou-louse.

To this conspiracy succeeded one of another sort. An old devotee, who had acted the prophets in the time of the constituent assembly, acted now the same sort of farces in France, that Mr. Brothers and his friends have been employed at in England. This old girl, Miss Theos, as Vadier declared in his accusation, is at the head of a counter-revolutionary assembly; she pretends to be inspired of God, and promises immortality to her followers, and many of those who have never done any thing for nor against the revolution are of the number. She sits in an armed chair, which she pretends is to be the throne of Louis XVII. The young prince has already been inaugurated in effigy. Dom. Gerle, a democrat in the beginning of the revolution, and member of the first assembly, applies the enigmas of the apocalypse to the events that are now passing, and swears, that the old girl is inspired, that she is a prophetess. In short, Vadier concludes with demanding, that the whole of that fanatical assembly should be delivered up to the guillotine, and orders be given to search out, arrest, and deliver over for trial the whole of their adherents and accomplices, most of whom, he had already said,

as being too ridiculous, that it would be seen through by the people. The victims on this occasion were treated with particular marks of infamy, each had on a red shirt in sign of assassination. Many of them had been in prison long before the plot against the tyrant had been thought of.

were idle people, who had never done any thing for nor against the revolution.*

Day after day brought on its pretended conspiracies and punishments;† the guillotine was removed to another quarter, for the sake of the spectators, and orders were given to dig trenches out of the city, in order to prevent the number of the dead bodies from bringing on a disease by infecting the air.

As a specimen of justice in civil matters which is fit to be hung up opposite to the decrees concerning revolutionary crimes, the following were adopted in the beginning of July, in order to prevent aristocratic farmers from misapplying the grain of the republic.

1. The produce of the harvest is put under the watch of the citizens, and confided to their care and their probity.

This first article is what they called the oil put upon the wedge to make it enter.

2. Grain of all sorts is put in a state of requisition for the use of the armies.

* What must Mr. Halhed, M. P. think of treating thus an old prophets and her adherents?

† Amongst the victims of this period were twenty-two young girls, from seventeen to twenty-five years of age. Babbling against the revolution was their crime:

Ils avont tenu des propos contre la revolution.

3. As

3. As soon as the harvest is over, an account will be made out of what it has produced.

4. Each farmer shall be obliged to give in a declaration of the quantity and quality of his productions, and to sign the declaration, which is afterwards to be verified, and what shall have been concealed shall be confiscated by a justice of the peace.

A number of other articles follow, which are only intended for assuring the execution of this decree.*

As tyrants are always deceived by their slaves, the convention, which had declared the people to be the sovereign, dared not to confess the defeat of the 1st of June by sea.† After delaying two weeks to give any account of that affair, Barrere began his report, by asking with what new mark of honour they should distinguish their conquering heroes, and finished by proving, that the English were beat; that the French had not only got

* It is to this decree that is to be attributed the great scarcity of corn in France since that time. It must be observed, at the same time, that though the decree was only passed now, it had been executed during the last twelve months by the ambulant commissaries.

† It was at this time that a conspiracy was discovered at Turin, which had been set on foot by French emissaries, and which had for its object, to put the royal family into the hands of the conspirators, and overturn the government during an insurrection which was to have been excited. A body of French troops was to have arrived at a signal given; the conspirators were to have massacred the royal family, and seize the arsenal and the citadel.

their

their merchant ships from America safe home, but that the French ships of war had been inferior in number and superior in battle to the English; that a captain, who was a traitor, had indeed let the English admiral out the line, which was unfortunate, but that the traitor would be punished.

Flattery for the people in a mass and cruelty in detail—such were the means of Robespierre, and in that he imitated, in part, the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth, who first discovered, that if the French were flattered, and thought themselves the greatest nation in Europe, they would consent to be the most miserable; not, indeed, that Louis the Fourteenth was cruel, but he was oppressive, and he was as much attached to his own glory as the nation was to theirs, and both king and people thought, that to disturb their neighbours was the road to greatness.

Barrere knew that every thing is comparative, and to prop the falling credit of his chief, he did precisely what English Jacobins do to make discontents here: he wished to prove, that the French were free and English slaves: (our patriots here say the same thing) he knew that the two nations are in a perpetual habit of drawing comparisons, and that neither is contented but in proportion as it surpasses the other in happiness, or liberty, or glory.

Formerly, the French were contented to be more polite, and to see the fine arts flourish more in Paris than in London, to have a more brilliant court, and to laugh at the ferocity, as they called it, of the English: but they allowed they were
not

not so free as the English. Barrere, however, chuses that they shall have the joy of excelling their rivals in every thing; in giving his account of taking Ostend, where, he said, many ships and military stores had fallen into the hands of the republic, which was not quite true, because they did not get one single ship, and but few stores. He goes on with the following abuse.

It is now, says Barrere, to the great lords of parliament in England, and the disinterested orators of the commons, to vote an address of thanks to the paternal government of George, for the taking of Ypres and Ostend, Mons and Charleroi. Let them not forget the battle of Fleureus, which, like that of Jemappe, has given Belgium to the victorious French.

What does that treacherous and ferocious people want? Slave at home, despot on the continent, and pirate at sea! What can that people expect in return for so many crimes? Does it yet think to rule over the Seine and the Thames? The English monarchy, will it yet long provoke the republican indignation of France? No, you will be punished *London, selfish and shopkeeping city*, thy lot is thrown, and thy destiny begins to be written on the harbour of Ostend.

No corresponding society in this country could speak more degradingly of England, nor in more lofty terms of the French republicans; but some of them have equalled Barrere; and yet the pride of Englishmen has not been awakened. The French formerly were distinguished for vanity and familiarity,

familiarity, and the English for distant pride ; but the latter seem now to have abandoned all regard for the importance and reputation of their country, for it is now a mark of patriotism to run it down, to say that it is degraded, ruined, and enslaved. This is precisely what M. Barrere says to animate his countrymen.*

But all those eloquent and flattering harangues were incapable of preventing the downfall of Robespierre, and the same Barrere who made them prepared now to follow fortune and abandon his master. Paris had long been in misery, and in fear of an invading enemy ; it was still in misery, but no longer in fear, therefore the parties had liberty to act, and now prepared for Robespierre the same downfall which he had brought upon so many of his rivals.

The committee of public safety, which governed all, but which Robespierre governed by means of the Jacobin club, was divided into two parties, but that of Robespierre's was the strongest. Nevertheless, as the tyrant had of late frequently been attacked by Talien, Bourdon, and others, and as he had not been so much applauded lately

* Several other pieces of Barrere's discourse are capital in the Jacobin way. Kings, says Barrere, must cease to exist before they cease to conspire against liberty ; they will cease to exist when they have no longer money, nor taxes, nor soldiers, nor authority ; let us, then, make a war of extermination with them. Reckon that we have twelve millions of soldiers, and that they are all of one family ; let us look with pity on those thousands of slaves whom the emperor sends to the slaughter with strokes of canes, the king of Prussia with flaps of sabres, and whom the Duke of York makes drunk with rum and with gin, &c.

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in the club as usual, his adherents began to calculate the possibility of his fall; and in this, as in all the other insurrections, we shall see, that the party which thinks itself the strongest, and is thought to be so, instantly becomes so.

Robespierre seems either to have been in some degree deranged in his mind, or to have depended solely on the Jacobin club for support against his enemies; for during the latter part of the month of June, and the month of July, he seemed to have totally abandoned all regard for his power in the committee and his popularity in the assembly, and he was perpetually at the sittings of the club, in which, however, he did not meet with the same applause as formerly.

This absence from the committee gave the members more occasion to differ amongst themselves, and those who were the enemies of Robespierre more opportunity to cabal against him. The insurrection against Robespierre was most probably retarded by the sort of popularity which his assassination had given him, and in consequence of the addresses of congratulation which were every day arriving from the clubs, now called popular societies, of the provinces; which, in imitation of Barrere, threw all the blame of the meditated assassination on their two stalking horses, the execrable Pitt and that vile nation of slaves and robbers the English. The applauses of those societies were unanimous and violent in favour of the decree, which ordered that all English prisoners should be put to death.

The national convention, though Robespierre did not now preponderate there as usual, does not seem to have become more just; for, under the pretext that those merchants, whose partners had emigrated, received sums due to those emigrants, it was decreed, that the partners in all such houses should, in twenty-four hours, give up their books to be examined and marked by the administrators of districts, and that the property belonging to those who had emigrated should be delivered up *under pain of death*.

A decree was made at the same time, which for its singularity deserves mention: all directors of diligences and public carriages are ordered to give the preference for places to such persons as are sent for to give witness at the revolutionary tribunal. A decree had been passed some time ago, which ordered those persons confined in all parts of France to be brought to Paris. If Robespierre excited the first, his enemies facilitated its execution by this decree about the diligences.

Never were the French popular societies, the municipalities, and the convention, more unanimous in their enthusiasm and approbation of the system of terror; never did the guillotine labour more incessantly to destroy, and at no time could it be said, that the French appeared to be filled with more republican energy.

Whether it was the false public or the true that applauded the system of terror must be left to connoisseurs to determine. If it was the true public, other nations cannot much admire the
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the humanity and virtue of the French ; and if it was the false public, the system of liberty in France does not seem to have been completely established ; so that the only alternative left to us is to moderate our admiration, for if the true public in France was free, it was not humane and virtuous, and if it was humane and virtuous, it was not free.

It will, perhaps, stagger some people a little, when they find, that in less than a month after, those same popular societies, the same convention, and the same committees, (about two hundred persons excepted, who were guillotined), applauded the overthrow of the system of terror, and the death of Robespierre. So that, whether they composed the false public or the true, they were, in all changes of government, the acting public, the talking public, and the restless public.

We have already seen that it was the constant practice of the party that triumphed, to throw all the odium of the horrors committed upon those who had fallen. But people in other nations should not be dupes, neither of the falsity nor the vanity of the republicans. The majority of the convention, and of all those who acted in France, were partisans of the system of terror while it lasted. Each aided with energy to execute and applaud, though by their manner of reasoning since, each individual appeared as if he had acted by force : it would be difficult for them to explain how the whole number of individuals lent so willing a hand to force themselves.

The enemies of Robespierre were desperate because they knew that he spared no man in his vengeance; and they were, therefore, prepared on the first signal of attack to oppose him with vigour.

Robespierre in the Jacobin club, and Barrere in the convention, had been employed in stirring up the public mind against a new sect of *indulgents*, by which name they thought proper to mark out their enemies.

On the 25th of July a deputation of the Jacobin club arrived at the bar of the assembly to denounce this new sect, paid by foreign nations to favour criminal indulgence and degrade impartial justice. Dubois de Crancé, perceiving that he was attacked, defended himself with vigour and retorted in half accusations complaints against Robespierre.

Next day, the 26th, the contest was renewed with more vigour. Robespierre appeared in person in the tribune: after many praises bestowed on his own character and virtue, he accused the committees of public safety and of general surety, as well as the committee of finance; then he closed his speech with a bitter complaint that the decree for putting English prisoners to death had not been obeyed by the armies.

Bourdon de l'Oise, who had long been a victim marked out by Robespierre, thought it was time to resist him, and, therefore, opposed the printing of this discourse; alledging, that though it might contain many truths, it might also contain
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some falsties. Barrere voted for the impresson, because, in a free country no truth ought to be concealed. Cuthon proposed, that in place of refusing its being printed, it ought to be sent by the convention to each municipality in the kingdom.

Cambon, who belonged to the committee of finance, at the head of which he had all along been, mounted the tribune, and attacked Robespierre. After defending the committee of finance, he had the courage to finish with the declaration, that it was time to say all the truth; that a single man paralysed the will of the national convention; that man, said he, is him who has now spoke—It is Robespierre; therefore judge.

A tyrant attacked becomes generally a coward, and Robespierre, equally astonished and afraid, began by excusing himself on the subject of finance, in which he declared he never interfered, and that he had no inclination to attack the intentions of Cambon.

Billaud de Varennes, finding Cambon's attack had been successful, called Robespierre a traitor and an impostor, on account of falsties contained in his discourse; and finished by saying, that “if liberty of opinion was no longer to be enjoyed, he would rather that his dead body should serve as a throne for an ambitious man, than that he should, by his silence, become the accomplice of his crimes.”

Panis, another member, succeeded, and accused Robespierre of reigning despotically in the
Jacobin

Jacobin club, and expelling whatever members he thought proper; that a list of proscriptions was made out by Cuthon and Robespierre, and that he was one of the proscribed. He demanded an explanation of this.

Robespierre answered evasively: "I am," said he, "an independent man in my opinions; never will any one draw from me an involuntary retraction. In throwing down my shield I have left myself open to the attacks of my enemies. I have flattered no one, I fear no one, and have aspersed no one. They speak to me of Fouché; I won't occupy myself with him; at present I set all this aside, I only listen to my duty; I will neither receive the support nor the friendship of any person; I don't seek to form for myself any party. It is not, therefore, right to demand that I vindicate this or that person; I have done my duty, let others do the same."

This violent contest finished with Robespierre's discourse not being ordered to be printed, many members of the convention observing, that it was ridiculous for Robespierre to think that he alone was right.

From the assembly, where the tyrant had been defeated, he went to the Jacobin club to prepare the means of crushing his enemies. But the moment of his fall was approaching; for, that same night, in a council held in a room adjoining the Jacobin club, by Robespierre, Cuthon, St. Just, Le Bas, and Henriot the commandant of the Paris guards, it was determined to strike a bold stroke

stroke by arresting their enemies, but previously to make a speech in the convention, in order to consult public opinion, and see how far it was in their favour.

This method of harranguing upon moments of crisis, when action is become necessary, had ruined Brissot's party and Hebert's; but now Robespierre fell into the same error. Had he arrested Barrere, Billaud de Varennes, and a few more of his enemies, that same night, he might probably have triumphed; but it was determined to delay that measure till the following night, after, as we have said, having consulted the public opinion.

Robespierre and his friends could depend upon support from the Jacobin club and the municipal officers, but their power in the committees and in the assembly were doubtful; and it was to try this, that they meant to make the experiment next day; St. Just was to read a speech to the assembly that might serve that purpose.

When on the morning of the 27th St. Just mounted the tribune to speak, the whole convention rose in a mass to prevent his being heard.

Talien then demanded to be heard, and Billaud de Varennes, Delmas, and others of the party in danger, hastened to inform the assembly that the Jacobin club had voted its destruction; that Henriot, commandant of the national guards, was a traitor; that Robespierre had protected persons who had embezzled the public money, and that he ruled tyrannically in the committee
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of public safety. That the men who were always talking of virtue and justice in the Jacobin clubs and in the convention, were those who trampled both under their feet when it suited their interest. The applause with which this denunciation was received, shewed Robespierre that his fatal experiment upon public opinion was made; he endeavoured to be heard, but was prevented by the repeated cries of *down with the tyrant*.

Talien now attacked the man, whose tyranny had long been proclaimed all over Europe, except in the national convention, where it was only newly discovered; and finished his speech by demanding the permanence of the assembly till his partisans should be arrested.

The convention being now ready to obey the enemies of Robespierre, and to decree whatever was demanded; Barrere, who had but two days before been the first to support him in all his oppression, mounted the tribune, and, in the name of the committee of public safety, denounced *Robespierre's party, as being bought over by the combined powers to make a disgraceful peace*; that an Austrian officer had disclosed the secret.

Amidst the cries of Robespierre to obtain a hearing, and of the accusations brought against him, the convention decreed, that the two Robespierres, Cuthon, St. Just, and Le Bas, should be arrested, which was with difficulty accomplished. The convention then broke all the officers of the national guards superior to the commanders of divisions; a proclamation which Barrere
had

had prepared for the provinces followed, and the victory was reckoned as being complete.

The municipal officers, however, were in the interest of the accused, and instead of going to prison at the Luxembourg, as they were ordered, the criminals were carried to the Hotel de Ville, where, assisted by the municipality and part of the national guards, they prepared to attack the convention.

So certain had the triumphing party imagined itself of the victory being already gained, that the sitting of the assembly had been suspended, and it was only upon its being renewed in the evening, that the members found out that the greatest danger was yet to come; that the Jacobin club and the municipality had conspired together, and that Henriot had already attacked some of its members. It was then proposed by the deputies, that the members of the municipality and of the department should be ordered to the bar on purpose to be examined. The department obeyed; but the municipality, being at that time occupied in the holy duty of insurrection, could not come. Robespierre and its members were indeed preparing to come to the assembly; but not in consequence of orders received, they were coming with cannon and armed men.

Meanwhile, the committee of public safety, which was armed at all times with the power of arbitrary arrests, and had its messengers for the purpose, was very busy in arresting those who were known to be the principal agents of the revolt; and the assembly finding the traitors were
numerous,

numerous, finished by declaring the accused deputies and the commons of Paris outlaws, and, as such, subject to the pain of death, as soon as they might be caught.

Amidst the various relations published of what passed on this extraordinary occasion, it is only possible to perceive distinctly, that the assembly and its committees acted against the municipality and Jacobin club ; that the two latter, not having expected the business would come on so soon, were not prepared to display their force as usual ; and that the great mass of the people, uncertain which side to take, were divided between the two parties, until they found that the convention was likely to get the better, and then, according to custom, the great number came over to its side immediately.

Revolutions were now become so common in Paris, and, certainly, very properly so, as free citizens could not be better employed than in fulfilling the duties of insurrection, that the manner of conducting them was a matter well understood : an address to the people, and to all the provinces ; congratulations from the people, apparent unanimity, and rejoicing the moment that success declared for one party, was the routine of a revolution ; so that each step was taken in its proper place, and was prepared for before it was taken. Barrere, so long the chief organ of the committees, drew up all the addresses on this occasion, just in the same stile that he used to do for Robespierre.

The convention sent its members into all quarters of the city to bring the people over to its interest by reason, intreaty, and persuasion ; but the fortune of the day was, in fact, decided by the want of previous arrangement on the side of Robespierre ; no plan had been laid, and, of consequence, the measures pursued were partial and ill followed up.*

Between two and three in the morning, a party of armed men was dispatched under the command of some of the deputies to attack the Hotel de Ville. In some streets they met friends, who joined them, crying *vive la convention* ; in others, they met enemies, who cried *vive les patriotes et la commune* ; but none of them, however, were sufficiently determined to come to any open act of aggression. This force arrived at the Hotel de Ville, and, as it was the only party of armed men that was fairly determined, its sudden appearance decided every thing at once. Robespierre attempted to blow out his brains with a pistol, and mortally wounded himself ; his brother broke his neck by jumping out of a window ; Cuthon stabbed himself, and Le Bas crept under

* We have already seen that Robespierre did not intend to arrest his enemies till the night of the 27th, and, of consequence, all popular explosion would have been posterior to that, at all events, according to his calculation. But he probably expected to meet with no resistance, for experience had taught him that the people of Paris do not rise in insurrection to defend men who are imprisoned. It must have been owing to these reasonings, or some such like, that the Jacobins had neglected to raise the people sooner. Their emissaries were only at work to do so in the Fauxbourgs late in the evening of the 27th, and were counteracted by the deputies, whom the convention dispatched thither also to get the people to embrace their party.

a pile of firewood to save himself. The commandant of the guards, Henriot, was attacked by Coffinhal, one of his associates in the conspiracy, for having deceived the municipality by saying that they might depend upon the support of the national guards. Henriot was thrown by him into a common sewer, from whence he was with difficulty dragged out.*

The whole was over in less than an hour after the first attack; and before five o'clock in the morning, so quickly did the strongest party meet with obedience, that congratulations were arriving from all quarters, and continued to do so as fast as the news arrived, from the nearest section in Paris to the most distant municipality in Auvergne.

When Legendre, the butcher, was certain that victory was decided, he went to the Jacobin club armed with a pistol, at the head of a mob of patriots, and in order to shoot the president, who had had the wisdom to quit the chair. The club was expelled, Legendre locked the door, and brought the key to the assembly; those who were then in the club, finding their party the weakest, being very much obliged to Legendre for giving them an opportunity to retire from a post which was now become dangerous, and could not be for the time productive of any advantage.

The wounded tyrant was brought on a litter to the door of the convention, which declared, that

* As soon as the guards, headed by Leonard-Bourdon, and some other deputies, entered the Hotel de Ville, the chiefs of the subdued party began to put an end to themselves, and Robespierre was the first.

the presence of the man they had so long obeyed, and from whom every word which fell was received formerly with enthusiasm and applause, would defile that holy place, the temple of the laws; he was, therefore, ordered to prison till the preparations for his execution should be made, together with that of his adherents, who, having all been outlawed, the only form necessary was to certify their personal identity, and then conduct them to the scaffold.

Amongst the congratulations which arrived at the bar of the triumphant assembly, was one from its friends, the Jacobins, which is not a little remarkable, after the conduct of that society.

The orator of the Jacobins said, “ Citizens, “ you see here the *true* Jacobins who have merited the esteem of the French nation, and the “ hatred of tyrants; you see here men who “ took arms to combat those perfidious magistrates, who had usurped the national authority. “ True Jacobins, in the moment of alarm, have “ no particular place for assembling; they are “ wherever their presence is wanted, to combat “ with, or watch over conspirators.

“ That monstrous assemblage of conspirators “ which defiled our hall, was composed of men “ who had no tickets, and who were at the direction of their infamous chiefs; but we, we were “ marching with our sections to overturn the new “ tyrant.”

This discourse was received with applause, and the president (Talien) answered by praising the energy

energy and patriotism of that celebrated society, which had rendered signal services to the revolution, which will be immortalized in history.

Perhaps nothing could be so severe a satire on the Jacobin club, nor so decided a proof of the danger of such a society to a government, as this singular address, when contrasted with the conduct of the club, and its having so lately been shut up by Legendre.

The friends of the Jacobins will no doubt maintain, that what its orator alledged was true, that they were not the *real Jacobins* who occupied the club at the time the conspiracy broke out. It must, however, be remembered, that it was not only during one night that the Jacobins had shewn their intentions to take part with Robespierre; it had been their practice for some time previous to the open acts of hostility to prevent Collet d'Herbois, and those who had separated from Robespierre, from being heard. The same president who had presided before was there when Legendre shut up the hall, but he had mixed with the members in the hall, in order to save himself from the attack of the valiant boucher. It is likewise perfectly clear, that it was impossible for the tyrant to have trusted to the Jacobin club, if its members had really been what they now pretended to be, his enemies; it was impossible for intruders to have usurped the hall of that celebrated society, for several days together, without incurring the indignation of its true members; and it may even be observed, that if it had been so, its true members could not have been more useful to the convention in
any

any place than in their own hall, driving away those false traitors who had occupied it.

Talien, the president, was not imposed upon, neither was any one present, but it was convenient to afford so powerful a society a method of getting off and embracing the party of the conquerors; this was what was meant on both sides, but the possibility of doing it in this manner, shews how dangerous a thing it is to have a self-created assembly that can deny its identity, and avoid punishment by so gross a trick. Had Robespierre been triumphant, it is certain beyond a doubt, that in place of the club appearing to make excuses to the convention, the members of the convention who escaped massacre, would have been going to the club to make their excuses, and to be admitted into its bosom. The club in that case would, perhaps, not have treated the members of the convention so well as they were themselves treated; and Talien, who now answered them so favourably, would have certainly been one of their first victims.

The executions of accused persons had gone on as usual during the whole of this struggle; it was not till the 28th, when the party really fell, that the guillotine ceased to work upon the ordinary victims,* in order to cut off the heads of those

* As this is the last moment of the violent reign of terror, it may not be improper to give the list of executions for Paris only, during the month of July.

those same men who had given it so much eclat and activity.

On the 28th in the evening, such of the conquered party as were seized, were conducted to the guillotine. Robespierre was nearly dead from the pistol shot which he had given himself, and another which he had received from a fol-

Number of victims during the month of July.

	Clergy.	Nobles.	Com. people.	Total.
1st July	1	0	13	14
2	3	5	22	30
4	1	4	21	26
5	3	7	18	28
6	5	40	23	68
7 (omis)	2	22	6	30
9	6	21	32	59
10	7	14	23	44
11	1	2	3	6
12	0	6	22	28
13	8	8	22	38
15	3	8	19	30
16	4	6	21	31
17	1	1	38	40
19	2	12	15	29
20	1	4	9	14
21	4	11	14	29
22	0	26	20	46
23	10	21	24	55
24	6	18	12	36
25	8	23	6	37
26	9	30	14	53
27	3	16	25	44
	<hr/> 88	<hr/> 305	<hr/> 422	<hr/> 815

dier at the Hotel de Ville.* The other principal leaders were all either dead or wounded, so that the people of Paris, who rejoiced in seeing their cruel masters go to the scaffold, gave a scope to their merriment and their ridicule. No cavalcade, they said, could be more grotesque, more ridiculous, nor a more fit object for rejoicing, than that of the mangled massacrers of the nation going to expiate their crimes on the same scaffold where they had sent so many innocent persons.

Twenty-two persons suffered with Maximilian Robespierre the first day, seventy-one were guillotined the day after, and on the 30th of July, twelve more. The execution of the usual vic-

* Maximilian Robespierre, 35 years of age, born at Arras, deputy.

A. P. J. Robespierre, aged 34, deputy.

A. St. Just, born at Lifer, do.

G. Cuthon, aged 38, born at Orfay, do.

J. B. E. Lescot Fleuriot, aged 39, mayor of Paris.

C. Pëyan, jury of the revolutionary tribunal, and national agent.

F. Henriot, aged 33, born at Nanterre, commis des barrières, and commandant of the national guards of Paris.

L. C. F. Dumas, aged 37, lawyer and president of the revolutionary tribunal.

N. J. Vivier, aged 50, president of the Jacobin club during the night preceding, also judge of the criminal tribunal.

A. Simon, shoemaker, tutor to the young king; besides ten other municipal officers, and two others; in all twenty-three.

tims

tims was suspended, and humanity began to breathe. The men who had carried the Jacobin system to its most terrible extent, were now no more, and there seemed some ground for a reasonable hope, that the revolution having got to the worst, might now take a better turn, and that mankind might see with pleasure the diminution of those evils, the rapid and constant increase of which had filled them with horror and affright.

C H A P.

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The system of terror not abandoned, but its rigour diminished after the fall of Robespierre—French vanity sadly mortified by being obliged to confess they had been slaves—No attempt made to establish a constitution, or regular government—The destruction of assignats, or the removal of the convention, are the only things that can restore order—New governors expose the cruelties of Robespierre's reign—Address of the ruling party in destroying the coalition of kings—Seconded by the heavy taxes in different countries, which produce discontent—Necessity for the English government acting with firmness, wisdom, and moderation, and making ameliorations, if it will avoid violent reforms and revolutions—General reflections and conclusion.

THE triumphant party, though composed of men who had signalized themselves on all occasions, by aiding, abetting, executing and defending the different cruelties during the reign of Robespierre, found nothing so politically wise as to throw upon him the odium of measures which

it was not for the interest of its members to avow as their own, and the criminality of which afforded them so ample a field for discussion and triumph. Nor is it at all to be doubted, that Talien and others had disapproved heartily of the system of terror, ever since the time that they apprehended they were themselves likely to become its victims.

All this was in favour of humanity, for in protesting against the cruelties of Robespierre, it was an affair necessary, of course, to act differently from what he had done, and accordingly the system of terror diminished amazingly; it was even proposed to suspend the revolutionary government, and to adopt fixed principles and laws for their future conduct. But this was overruled; the present masters of France, though declared enemies to the crimes which the revolutionary government had given birth to, approved still of the principles upon which the cruel party had acted, and thereby left open for themselves a door for the persecution of their own enemies, and for the firm establishment of their own power.

The whole of the departments now combined in declaring, that they had, during the life of Robespierre, groaned under the most terrible tyranny ever known; but what is very remarkable, no attempt was made to prevent a repetition of the same despotism, by renouncing for ever those false principles which had led to them; this was the more extraordinary, that the vanity of the nation ought to have been humbled: it had received a wound difficult to be healed, when it
was

was obliged, after boasting of the freedom and equality established, to confess the extent and rigour of its arbitrary government. The shame of this, however, only led to denunciations against Robespierre, his accomplices, and his agents ; but no one thought of changing the declaration of rights, nor of reinstating the clergy, nor of annulling the decrees about the property of the emigrants, nor of doing away any of those things which had led to that great degree of misery and slavery ; the vanity of such men is unconquerable, and they consoled themselves for the affront they had received, by declaring that now they were again free, that they detested the tyrant, and adhered more firmly than ever to liberty, equality, and their former principles.*

It will only be when the cause is removed, that the effect will cease : and though it is true that the situation of the French is less deplorable since the destruction of the violent party, there is not the least guarantee against the repetition of those same sort of crimes ; nor is it with any propriety or truth, that those who have since ruled, cry out about their moderation, and the

* In this country, where it is a fixed principle that rulers should not be entrusted with arbitrary power, lest they should make a bad use of it, the revolutionary government, which is the most unlimited arbitrary government, should be considered as the most terrible infringement on the liberties of the subject ; but this is not the case. The present government of France begins to be counted moderate, and ours begins to be called despotic, because it has yet too much energy to be destroyed by the factious and discontented. It is true, that it is only such as are of that description who complain of its despotism ; it is a consolation which the malcontents of France have not. *un propos contre la nation* is there punished with death.

cruelty

cruelty of the Jacobins, they have been, and still are Jacobins, to all intents and purposes, just as much as Hebert, Danton, and Robespierre himself. With individual Jacobins, and Jacobin leaders they have differed, but with Jacobin principles they have been of accord.

The transactions in France since that period are of little importance; no attempt has been made to establish a regular government; no attempt has been made to improve the administration, nor to procure order and happiness, so that the first insurrection that takes place, may put things again in the position that they were in during the time of Robespierre; or it may ameliorate the state of the people, by producing something like order. There are only two things that are to be looked to for procuring for France something like law and government.

One great cause of the want of order is the dominion exercised over the convention by the Jacobin club, and the mob of Paris; and the other is the creation of assignats, which permits the ambitious and the factious to dispose of all the men and all the property of the nation.

Could the convention be removed from Paris, then it is more than probable that law and order would be introduced, and when assignats can no longer be created, as taxes must be levied (which cannot be done without a submission to the laws) something like order must be established; but until one or other of those things takes place, it is clear that insurrection will follow insurrection, and the satisfying of private vengeance will occu-

py the intervals between insurrections, as it has done.

When the Jacobins began to fall under the weight of the guillotine, some people thought that by degrees France would be exhausted of factious leaders; but that was a great mistake, the number increases every day, and at present the great bulk of the nation is accustomed to live by disorder, and a considerable portion of it can live by nothing else.

The tyrant had no sooner fallen, than his successors began to bring to light his crimes, and to declaim against that oppression which the promoters of order had declaimed against all along, but which the friends of Jacobins in other countries denied. It was now that Fouquier Tinvile, the accuser before the revolutionary tribunal, in order to defend himself, proved that Robespierre drew up lists of victims, and that all those who had revenues drawn from the public funds, were proscribed as persons whose death would be a public benefit.* The iniquities of the revolutionary

* Much had been said of courtiers in France, in former times, imprisoning the husband because they admired his wife. There were some very disgraceful instances of such things, though they were very rare; but in modern France they were multiplied beyond imagination, and attended with a brutality that added, if possible, to the crime. The unfortunate women, who solicited for husbands, fathers, or brothers, not only saw their relations slaughtered without mercy, *after having paid their ransom at the price of their honour*, but they were themselves often sacrificed to the cruelty of the monster whose lust they had gratified. When there were no friends nor relations to serve this purpose, violation by force preceded assassination. It is not the heads of a few miscreants like Carrier, that can satisfy justice when so offended.

tribunal

tribunal were now unveiled, the cruel oppression of the commissaries sent into the provinces, and particularly of Carrier at Nantz, were made known, and men trembled to hear that their fellow creatures had been confined in prisons under the most cruel and most rigorous regimen that ever was practised, or perhaps conceived [Note R.] and that they were dragged to death without trial or examination.

Men, women, and children, had been drowned and butchered in every method* that their tyrants could invent, and with those circumstances of combined cruelty that revolt nature [Note S.]

All this was brought to light under the idea that Robespierre and his agents alone had done it, but that deceived nobody, for Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Talien, had been some of his agents, they were now amongst the rulers, and were the first to complain.

It had pleased the assembly, as we have seen, to accept of the excuse made by the Jacobin club,

* It will be seen in the fragments of the trial of the executioners at Nantz, that are at the end of the work, that the punishment of victims was considered as an amusement. At Nantz, Carrier caused an old man and an old woman to be tied together, naked, back to back; young men and young women to be tied together in the same manner, and after insulting them in whatever manner suited their savage jocularity at the time, they were thrown into the river. This, Carrier called a *republican marriage*, by way of derision. When Carrier was tried, he found many defenders, and his punishment had like to have occasioned a revolution; when Louis XVI. his queen, and his sister, were condemned, no efforts were made to save them !!!

that

that it was not the club itself, but intruders, who had acted against the convention; and it may please Jacobins in other countries to throw the blame of all the cruelties upon Robespierre; and to suppose that they are over with him, that the rulers of France since that time are men attached to law and order; but this can never be believed, since those rulers have preserved the law of the maximum and the revolutionary government.

The fall of Robespierre disconcerted those who counted upon the vigour of one single party, and one single chief; but the armies were recruited, and the enemies repulsed before his destruction, and that had no favourable effect upon the operations of the latter part of the campaign; on the contrary, it did considerable hurt to the combined powers.

Every change, when things are in a bad state, gives hopes, and this change inspired all the armies with the hope that liberty was now once for all certain; the discussions of the assembly turning against the crimes of Robespierre, seemed to turn in favour of virtue and order; and Talien, the massacring hero of September 1792, was now metamorphosed into a man, who held bloodshed in detestation, so that the French government began to inspire less horror, and those who had to defend themselves against its arms, slackened their efforts. The Dutch began to consider that an alliance was possible with the convention, and that it would not be worse for them to have French commissaries, than to have a prince of Orange

Orange for Stadtholder.* They remembered the mortifications of 1787, but they forgot the more recent massacres in France.

On no occasion, one excepted, have the Jacobins shewn themselves *mal adroit* with respect to turning to advantage the changes operated by unforeseen events, and never did they turn any one more artfully to advantage than the fall of Robespierre; from that moment did they direct their views to the destruction of the coalesced powers, by flattering them and separating them.

The *third state*, and the people who had nothing, had triumphed over the proprietors, the clergy, and the nobles, by separating their interests, and by holding up hopes to the one, at the expense of the other, with the intention of finishing, by ruining them all; the same game was now to be played with nations, that had been played with different orders in their own nation, and the powers at war were to be detached from the coalition, one by one. No more injurious language was heard against kings in general, as

* The Orange party, which had made such strong efforts for that family in 1787, was now discontented; the Stadtholder had not, they complained, given that preference to his friends over his enemies that they merited. This is a very common error, into which most rulers fall (except the Jacobins). Louis XVI. fell partly for the same reason, and James II. of England found fewer supporters than he would have done, had the conduct of Charles II. been more severe towards his father's enemies, and more generous towards his friends. It is an odd enough thing that most governments treat their enemies better than their friends; this is the case with ministers as well as kings, and it is one reason why they have so many enemies. It arises from their being actuated more by a principle of fear, than of friendship or generosity.

in the times of Brissot and Robespierre ; the law for putting to death English and Hanoverian prisoners was repealed, and as every thing is judged of by comparison, the present government of France seemed to be mild and humane.

The efforts of the Jacobins in different countries, seconded as they always have done, the convention, and began according to their own term, to *neutralize men's minds* (*neutralizer les esprits*). With respect to the nature of the French government, they had contrived in the convention to separate the principles of the revolution, from the atrocities of the revolution ; they exclaimed, as all mankind did, against the latter, and by coinciding with humane and reasonable men in this one thing, led many such to coincide with them in the other part of the system.

The feeble defence made by the Dutch was one of the consequences of this ; the negotiations entered into by the king of Prussia, and the German states, arises partly from the same causes ;* others, there is not a doubt, will follow, and provided the plan in view by the convention succeeds, the whole of Europe will be thrown

* The French government being changed, the King of Prussia had a shadow of an excuse for changing his conduct also. As to the Dutch, their discontent with the war, added to the efforts made by Jacobin emissaries, to persuade them, that France would not do the country so much harm as its allies had done ; they saw the invasion without either much pain or pleasure ; they have paid pretty dearly for their *sung froid*.

into a state of revolution.* The property of those who possess any at present, will be divided as it has been in France, amongst those who have none, and the success of this depends upon one single circumstance.

France may make peace with all the nations in Europe, without any sort of hesitation on her side, for as the whole country is up in arms, it can begin again just as readily as the municipality of Paris can march against the convention; it can likewise employ emissaries and excite discontents, while upon its own side it has nothing to fear and nothing to lose.†

The taxes, and of consequence the discontents of people, in other countries, will have been so much increased by the present war, that it will

* The leaders in France have never varied in the design of introducing revolution into other countries; this is one thing on which they are all of one mind, and have been ever since the beginning. The first convention thought to make conquests by speaking and writing, the second by force of arms, and Robespierre by terror. The plan at present is to employ all the different ways at once, arms with one, money with another, emissaries with a third; by dividing all to triumph over all, and to finish by robbing each one at its leisure. The system of plunder in Holland is a specimen; they knew the guillotine made commercial wealth disappear; therefore a fixed requisition is first exacted, on pretence of necessity, with a promise of protection; another, and another requisition succeeds, until much more is exacted than could ever have been got by open force at once.

† France is now literally in the situation of a ragged vagabond, who attacks a well-dressed man. Its own situation cannot be made worse, while every blow given to the enemy does an injury, until he shall be reduced to the same situation of filth and dirtiness, and then the contest will become equal.

not

not be difficult to create confusion, and it will not be very difficult to attack them by open force, and one by one.* There is no danger of a new coalition of nations, for some time at least, against France, and perhaps it will even be found possible to turn the arms of the coalesced powers against each other. Recent injuries are most productive of quarrels, and the unfair secession of one king from the common cause may, with the aid of a little intrigue, bring on new troubles.

The French government, by changing its measures and its identity at pleasure, enjoys an advantage over all other governments, for it can avow, or refuse to avow, any measure that it pleases, as it has already done.

* The taxes in England will be greatly increased by the revolution. To the original taxes before the war, will be added the interest of the money borrowed to carry it on ; and it being impossible to put either the navy or the army on a peace establishment, loans must either be continued in time of peace, or else heavy taxes laid on to pay the increased expenses. It might not be unreasonable to suppose, it will be thus :

Original taxes before the war	16 millions a year.
Interest of money borrowed	3 do.
Expenses of the navy kept up	2 do.
Of the army ordnance and militia	1 do.

Total 22 millions annually.

This is not a very pleasant prospect, and will give our enemies a great handle over us, so that this government must prepare seriously to make a stand against their efforts, and, if possible, get things upon such a footing when a peace is made, as to prevent the necessity of keeping up the army and the navy above the usual establishment.

The

The thing, then, on which the fate of Europe depends is simply this ; *Whether the revolutionary government of France, or the power of defending ourselves against it, shall finish the first?* that is to say, Whether the whole of the coalesced powers shall be reduced to the necessity of making peace with France before the convention quits Paris, or before the assignats cease to supply the place of regular taxes? This is now the great question upon which depends the welfare of Europe, and it must be confessed, that after the various methods by which the credit of the assignats have been kept up, it is not possible to estimate the duration of that resource, there is even reason for thinking, that whilst the revolutionary government exists, assignats will be preserved, and that in such a manner as to supply the place of taxes.

The infatuation of the French prevents them from seeing that their own interest, and that of the rest of Europe, is the same ; they want liberty and peace, which they can never have while a few individuals can rule the mob at Paris, and rob the whole kingdom by means of their assignats, It would, therefore, be the interest of the whole of Europe to come to a proper understanding upon this subject, if that were possible ; but if that is not, there is nothing for it, but for other governments to set seriously about a method of protecting themselves from an attack, whether by open arms or by discontents fomented.

The brilliant campaign which the French made last year tends greatly to diminish the horror in which their government has been held. Bra-
very,

very, in all cases, has been considered as a sort of alleviation of guilt, and though, perhaps, improperly so, it does certainly diminish the horror in which men hold cruelty. Nero never did any thing, perhaps, more cruel than Alexander the Great did, when he took the city of Tyre, but the one was brave and the other was only sanguinary; the name of Nero inspires horror and disgust, that of Alexander does not, but, on the contrary, carries along with it a certain degree of esteem and admiration. A change pretty similar has, it is very perceivable, taken place in Europe since the beginning of the last campaign. The French arms were then despised, and their crimes abhorred; people now eye them differently, their success has operated a change in their favour; people talk with less disgust of their crimes, and speak of their government with rather more respect.

The coalesced powers have neglected much that they ought to have done, and, amongst other things, they have neglected to contradict the reports spread about the bravery, discipline, and order of the French armies.*

Europe is left in ignorance of the truth, and of a truth so essential to be known and so easily made known. The French set to work systematically to spread their false reports of victories, and we set to work to make known our defeats. The gasconades of Barrere have been

* This neglect is inconceivable, since it might be so easily done, and since the fate of a war of this nature depends so much upon the general opinion which people entertain of the conduct of the opposite parties.

copied into all newspapers in all countries, without either contradiction or commentary: and even those who know their falsity have remained silent, when they might with truth have said, (and without danger of being contradicted) that in no one case when the numbers were equal, have the French gained a victory over their enemies; that they have never preserved discipline nor order, nor abstained from pillage, except when they have been masters of the country, and when, by a general requisition and distribution of assignats, the French generals could consider all the wealth and property of the conquered country as being their own stores, in their own magazines, [Note T.] that the private soldier was not permitted to pillage the individual, because the general pillaged regularly the whole country; but that where that could not be done, there was no sort of exaction, and vexation that was not exercised.

Why are not mankind informed of this? Why has pillage and destruction been allowed to assume the appearance of justice and order? Wherefore do the combined powers let themselves be calumniated and abused? Why has it not been explained, that by mere dint of numbers the French have triumphed over armies superior in bravery and in skill? and why has it not been explained, that the revolutionary government of the French leaves them at all times at liberty to increase and multiply oppression and vexation? That one requisition, which is the title they have chosen to give to robbery, does not preclude them from making another next day, that their
system

system still is to continue to take till nothing more remains to be taken.*

The French themselves require no positive testimony of guilt where there are moral proofs ; if then they are to be judged by their own rule, those who were cruel and unjust last year, must be cruel and unjust still, because, though men who have been humane may become cruel, men who have once been practically cruel never become humane ; and we have seen, that during the whole of the revolution nothing but cruelty and injustice has prevailed, though the rulers and their agents have often changed ; therefore it is in vain that the blame is thrown upon any particular man or set of men, it remains with the nation, and must remain with it.

Since the fall of Robespierre, though Jacobins in other countries have not been less active than before, and though they found in him and his party a scape goat, whom they might load with the enormities which sprung out of their system itself, yet they have not had the courage to make an attack upon other governments, in the same way that they did in the times of the constituent assembly, and of Brissot's party. They do not vaunt the rights of man, as usual, because they are sensible, that the crimes of Robespierre may be traced to that impure origin, and if they were to stir up the inquiry it might hurt their cause ; but those who wish the present race of men may not be sacrificed to wild theories, should stir up

* The expressions of the French themselves, before they entered into Flanders last, were, that they would only leave the inhabitants eyes to weep.

that discussion, and it should not only be proved, but made known in every country, *that the original declaration of rights is the cause of the miseries of France.* This is the more necessary, that the enemies of order and government now attack people by the most insidious method of any, by endeavouring to stir up discontent; they cannot now hold France up as they used to do, as a model to copy from, but they know that discontent brings on revolution, and that is all they want.

The language of those who praised the French constitution as being a master-piece, and who admired its authors, are now a little ashamed of their error, since the guillotine has made such ravages amongst their heroes, and since the system they admired has produced such unheard-of scenes of misery, distress, and wickedness; but those same persons are not one bit less severe on the imperfections of other governments; on one side *they extenuate much*, and on the other seem *to set down much in malice*; for certainly take man, insulated from all degree of anger and resentment on one side, or of favour and good-will on the other, it is impossible to speak with expressions of indignation against the established governments of Europe, and with expressions of complacency towards the government of France, yet such is the daily practice; let it be granted, that other governments are bad, yet that of France must be allowed to be worse, as the end of every government is to make the people happy.

We have already observed, that the success of the French arms had diminished the horror inspired

spired by their crimes, and it is equally true, that with respect to their enemies their own cause seems worse, because it has been badly defended. The pillaging, murdering sans culotte holds up his victorious arms, and says, there is my title to property, let him who dares dispute its validity; whilst his enemies, driven behind mountains and rivers, are employed rather in concealing the shame of defeat than in preparing to contest his right; and what we have observed during the whole of the revolution to take place in Paris, amongst parties, is on the brink of taking place in Europe, amongst nations. Strength and power are likely to be where they are thought to be, and the French, victorious, but weak and miserable, will soon have more allies than those who fight against them.

As we have traced the origin of Jacobinism, but, above all, its rapid progress, to causes that had long existed in the government of France, we may likewise find, that its continuance, notwithstanding the unexampled misery with which it has been attended, is owing to causes that exist in other governments, and it would be well for those who are most interested in the present order of things, to consider what they have at present, what risks they run, and what they may do to ensue themselves against those risks.

It would be vain to imagine, that those who endeavour to sow discontent in other countries, could meet with attentive hearers, if men were not inclined by some general motive to listen to them.

We can easily suppose a leading orator, and a few of his friends, to be actuated by personal motives of interest or revenge; we can suppose the president of a club, and a few of his associates, to be the same; but how are we to account for the avidity with which a great portion of the public is swayed by those orators, and that men who are neither ambitious nor vindictive are amongst their followers. We find that this is the case, and the following is the reason.

The existing governments of Europe, excepting none, *bold abuse, when sanctified by precedent too sacred*, and therefore abuses are always accumulating without any hopes of their being diminished. The French government is bad, but it is an experiment, and perpetually flatters people with the hope of improvement. Other governments, vastly more free in themselves, and vastly more conducive to individual happiness, do not offer any hope of improvement, and therefore create discontent.

It may be said, that this is not reasonable; perhaps it is not, but it is natural to man. The richest proprietor in England, will not he be displeased if an acre is taken from his estate? and the poorest, will he not be pleased when he sees a prospect of his little property augmenting? It will be no argument with the rich man, that he has got still ten thousand times as much as the poor; no, he thinks not of that, but of what he ought to have. Just so it is with us, the miseries of France afford no consolation to an Englishman, who considers, that though the abuses in this country are not nearly equal to those in France,
yet

yet still there are abuses, and that he has not the prospect of a remedy which he might expect.

Upon the supposition that the legislature of this country wish sincerely to preserve the present order of things,* it may be represented to them, that, if the desire of reform is so inherent in the breasts of men, as to make any considerable portion of them willing to run the risk of a revolution, it ought to be carefully considered, by what means so terrible a thing as revolution is to be prevented.

The error of the first assembly in France, in rendering all parts of their constitution equally sacred, brought on the destruction of the whole. The rotten pulled down with it what was sound. The abuses of the feudal system were the cause of its total destruction, though some parts of it were good. The unwillingness of the court of France to make a few sacrifices to the people with a good grace, brought on terrible calamities, that ended in the total destruction of the court, and the misery of the people. A little sooner, or a little later, similar causes produce similar effects in all countries; for the mind of man throughout the world is nearly the same. Hope and fear act on all, and must always do so; therefore, no nation can with reason think that it will be exempted from the revolutions, which the passions of men bring on, by any other mode than that of preventing the unfavourable action of those passions.

* What applies to England, will apply to most other countries in Europe, though not always in the same degree.

There is one reform in this country that will inevitably bring on a revolution when it takes place ; that is, the reform of the representation of the people ; therefore, that reform should be by some means prevented ; and though there are many devices, that may be fallen upon to *retard* the measure, there is but one to *prevent it*. The house of Commons must show that it requires no reform, and then the nation will be contented, but never till then.

Is it not the duty of the representatives of the people, to inquire into what may be done for the happiness of the people, and to go on with a resolute intention and a firm step in the execution of their design ? Is it not notoriously known by the experience of every day that the code of civil law in this country wants amendment, and its administration wants it still more ? Does not the whole nation cry out, as with one voice, against an army of depredators, who, under the pretence of procuring justice* for individuals, rob them often of their all. A reform in the law would lead to no dangerous consequences, and it would be of infinite utility, and create universal satisfaction ; *it would give hope*. We should not then see a few miserable wretches hanged for stealing trifles, while we see others riding in coaches, supported by the spoils of whole families, and insulting the indigence which they have produced.

* With respect to the judges of this country, it must be said to their honour, that, in no country under the sun are they more equitable, nor more careful to search out truth, and administer justice ; but then, tied up by law and precedent on one side, and tormented by the chicane and subterfuge of men who act in their courts, they have it not in their power always to do justice ; nor, when they do, have they any proper controul over the expense which that justice costs.

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When evils are complained of, let those who can remedy them inquire into them with candour and attention ; if they admit of a remedy, let it be applied ; and if they do not, let that be proved, and we shall be satisfied ; but it must be owned, that contentment and satisfaction cannot be expected at any lesser price.

Those who enjoy places of power and profit, let them do it with modesty and moderation ; and above all, let them fulfil the duties of their offices ; let it be considered that every thing has its price, and that the liberty and happiness which we enjoy, may seem too dear.

Let the vigour of government be preserved ; let it yield nothing to menace, but every thing to justice ; and though we have seen that abstract principles are dangerous in governments, there is one principle that may be adopted without danger : *That when the situation of mankind can be ameliorated by a change, without running any risk of making it worse, it ought to be done, and that it is the duty of rulers to do it.*

Governments, are obliged to employ many sorts of means to support their power ; and when they cease to employ any, they soon fall. A bad government that appears eternally struggling to render the people happy by good laws, even if it should not succeed, will find advocates and admirers, it will even inspire enthusiasm in many cases, as we see that of France has done ; but a government that seems careless of procuring the ameliorations that are pointed out, and may be obtained, will find few advocates, few admirers, and never will inspire enthusiasm.

We have seen that affiliated clubs, interfering in the politics and administration of a country, are the ruin of peace, happiness, and liberty. Let them be forbidden by law under the severest penalties; but, at the same time, let those who apply for a redress of grievances in a fair, open, and candid manner, meet with attention: let not the power of rulers stifle public complaint, nor the insolence of office insult or oppress the individual. The times are changed since Shakespeare's days: men do not now rather bear the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of.

The insolence of office, the law's delay, and the affronts that patient merit of the unworthy bears, are griefs of which the present age complains, and which it is not inclined to bear any longer with patience. As this is evident beyond a doubt, let a remedy be sought by amelioration, of which the consequences may be calculated.

Though the system of Jacobinism, and the reign of Jacobins did not cease with Robespierre, yet its history, as far as relates to the interior of France, may with propriety stop for the present at that period, because the real conduct of the leaders of any party is not known till that party falls; and, as the party which overthrew Robespierre is yet in the Capitol, though perhaps not very far from the Tarpeian rock, yet it is not time to examine its conduct any farther than to observe that, though the revolutionary government has continued, and the requisitions also, yet neither have been put in execution with the rigour formerly employed. We have already observed that the true guarantee of the good intentions
of

of the present governors of France would be their laying aside that unexampled degree of power so easily abused. We shall give them their credit for moderation and for good intentions, when they enact laws and establish a constitution, after having inquired by what means the despotism under which France groaned in the time of Robespierre was established. It will not be said that if Robespierre's wickedness made him exercise a cruel despotism, that his own abilities or gigantic force made him a despot. He either must have found men or things to favour his ambitious views; those should be sought after; and, surely, it cannot be very difficult to trace his tyranny to the declaration of rights and the insurrections brought about by means of it and of the Jacobin club.

It is by no means with the unfair intention of painting Jacobinism in its blackest colours, that we cease its history at the fall of its greatest tyrant; although the revolution has gained many partisans by its historian stopping at the 10th of August, and, therefore, only shewing its fairest side. Such partial representations, if done with intention, are unfair; the reigns of Nero and Caligula are not to be selected and given as the reigns of Roman emperors, neither are those of Marcus Aurelius and Titus Antoninus to be given under that title. Truth is the object of History, and whatever tends to disguise that, destroys its true end.

The parties of Talien and Barrere had been directly opposed to each other before the fall of Robespierre, and that difference soon broke out again

again, as might be expected. The different partisans of Barrere and Collot d'Herbois, as well as themselves, have been banished; and this purification will probably go on till some new insurrection takes place, of which the fate will depend, as is usual in all their insurrections, upon the public opinion with respect to the strength of the parties. Talien and his friends have now ruled about nine months; they have shewn some moderation and much address; they have already succeeded in weakening their enemies by the subjection of Holland, and by detaching the King of Prussia from the league against them. They have been witnesses to vexatious exactions in Holland, and unexampled cruelties committed by their armies in Spain. In Holland, where they were masters, they have avowed their injustice; in Spain, where they expect yet to make conquests, they have disavowed their cruelties, but they have not punished them. But the best of all their actions is their having punished the agents, and what they call the continuators of Robespierre, and exposed the cruelties which were committed under his reign; though, until they have disavowed his principles, and laid down their power, it will be difficult for us to forget that they themselves were of the number of the tyrant's agents.

More moderate than Robespierre, and less so than Brissot and his party, the present rulers of France have co-operated with both; but all the three agreed perfectly in their plans of conquest, though they differed about the means; they all agreed in the principle of insurrection and what they

they call liberty and equality, but they differed as to the lengths to which they should be carried. In one word, they have all joined in destroying religion and government, and pillaging property, though they have all differed about the distribution of power and the division of the spoils. It cannot, therefore, be admitted that Jacobinism does not reign in France, because of late they have exclaimed against it; but their doing so is a proof that the misery of the country is by themselves ascribed to the principles adopted by the clubs, and propagated by them. And it affords a reasonable ground of hope that, as their delusion ceases, their misery will decrease, and that that miserable nation may at last find happiness restored, by restoring order and government, which she has so long sacrificed, to a love of theory, and imaginary perfection.

The Jacobins individually having become odious, it will naturally follow that their principles will become so too; though, from the present state of things to so happy a conclusion, there must be a long progression, and many storms are to be feared, in some of which Jacobinism may triumph, but, in the end, it must fall; misery must at last get the better of vanity; the provinces of France, must, in the end, shake off the yoke of the rabble of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine; and the nation will at last see into the absurdity of putting every thing at the disposition of a number of intriguing despots, who by means of a printing press and reams of assignats, pillage the nation, and excite massacre and bloodshed. Never did any nation pay so dear for an error, nor never

did any struggle begun for liberty so effectually retard its progress; but the whole human race may profit by it, and it may be the means of procuring happiness for ages yet to come, by shewing the danger of error when supported by enthusiasm.

NOTES.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

DECLARATION OF THE KING.

Concerning the present holding of the States-General read to the Assembly of the States at the Seance Royale of the 23d of June, 1789.

IT is the king's will that the three orders of the state should be preserved entire, as being essentially connected with the constitution of his kingdom : that the deputies freely chosen by each of the three orders, forming three chambers, deliberating by order (or separately) and having a right, with the approbation of his majesty, to determine upon deliberating in common, are to be considered as forming the body of representatives of the nation. In consequence of this, the king declares the deliberations adopted by the deputies of the orders of the third state on the 17th of this month ; as also whatever may arise out of these deliberations, to be null and void, as being illegal and unconstitutional!

His majesty declares to be good and valid all the powers of deputies verified, or to be verified in each chamber, against which no objections have arisen, or shall arise. His majesty orders that communication shall be mutually and respectively given between the orders on that subject.

With

With regard to the powers which may be contested in each order, and concerning which the parties interested will do what is necessary, the king will determine in the manner hereafter to be ordered, for and during the holding of the present states-general only.

The king breaks and annuls, as being unconstitutional, contrary to the writs of convocation, and to the interest of the state, such restriction of power, as by diminishing the freedom of deputies to the states-general, may hinder them from adopting the forms of deliberation taken separately, by order, or in common by the distinct will of the three orders.

If, contrary to the intentions of the king, some of the deputies have taken an oath rashly, not to deviate from some particular form of deliberation, his majesty leaves it to their conscience to determine whether or not the rules which he is about to lay down, agree with, or differ from the letter or the spirit of the engagements which they have taken.

The king permits those deputies who think themselves confined by their instructions, to demand new powers from their constituents. But his majesty enjoins them to remain, in the mean time, at the states-general, and to give their opinion and advice on the pressing affairs of the state.

His majesty declares, that in a future convocation of the states-general, he will not allow the cahiers or orders given to the deputies to be considered as any thing more than simply instructions confided to the conscience and free opinion of the deputies chosen.

His majesty having exhorted the three orders to reunite themselves for the good of the state, during the holding of the present states, and no longer, that they may deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, desires to make known his intentions as to the manner in which they are to proceed.

Nothing

Nothing can be treated of in a common assembly that regards the ancient constitutional rights of the three orders, the form that is to be given to future assemblies, of the states-general, feudal or feignorial property, or the useful rights, or honourable prerogatives of the two first orders.

The particular consent of the clergy shall be necessary for all regulations that may interest religion, ecclesiastical discipline, or the laws and regulations respecting regular or secular orders and bodies.

All deliberations entered into by the three orders, in common, about the contested powers of deputies, shall be determined by the plurality of votes; but if two thirds of the voices in one of the three orders protests against the determination, the affair shall be appealed to his majesty, to be by him definitively determined.

If with a view to facilitate the re-union of the three orders, they shall wish that the questions to be deliberated in common shall be determined by a majority of two-thirds of the voices only, his majesty is disposed to authorise that method. The affairs which shall have been decided in the assembly of the three orders re-united, shall be a second time discussed the day following, if one hundred members demand it.

The king wishes in the present circumstances, in order to preserve harmony and concord, that the three chambers should begin separately to name a commission, composed of any number of deputies they may think proper, to prepare the form and the distribution of the *beaureaus of confidence*, where the different affairs are to be discussed.

The general assembly of the orders shall be represented by the presidents, chosen by each of the orders, according to their usual rank.

Good order, decency, and liberty in voting, require
that

that his majesty should forbid, expressly, any person who is not a member of the states-general, from taking part in their deliberations, whether they are taken jointly or separately.

DECLARATIONS OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE KING.

No new tax shall be levied, nor any old one continued beyond the term fixed by the law, without the consent of the representatives of the nation.

New taxes which may be laid on, or old ones, of which the duration may be prolonged, shall never be done but for the term it has to run, between such time of prolongation or laying on, and the meeting of the next assembly of the states-general.

As loans of money may become the occasion of an increase of expenses, no loan shall be made without the consent of the states-general, except in case of war or other national danger, the sovereign shall have the right to borrow a sum not exceeding one hundred millions ; for the intention of the king is never to put the safety of his empire into the power of any man or body of men.

The states-general will examine with care the situation of the finances, and will demand all the information that is necessary for understanding them perfectly.

A table, giving a state of the revenue and expenses, shall be published every year in a form proposed by the states-general, and approved of by the king.

The sums destined for each department in the state shall be determined in a fixed and invariable manner, and the king submits the expenses of his household to that same rule.

The king's will is, that in order to render the sums that are necessary, certain, the states-general do point
out

out to him the regulations necessary, which his majesty will adopt if they are such as are consistent with royal dignity, and the indispensable dispatch of public affairs.

The representatives of the nation, faithful to the laws of honour and of probity, will do nothing incompatible with the public faith ; and the king expects that the claims of the creditors of the state shall be confirmed in the most authentic manner.

When the disposition of the clergy and nobility, already formally announced of renouncing their pecuniary privileges, shall have actually been realized by their deliberations, the intention of the king is to sanction it, and that in future there shall not exist in the payment of pecuniary contributions any sort of privilege or distinction.

The king wills, that in order to render sacred so important a principle, the name of *taille* shall be entirely abolished in the kingdom, and that the tax levied by that title, shall be commuted with the twentieth, or some other territorial tax ; or that it be replaced in some other manner, but upon just, fair, and equal principles, without distinction of rank, birth, or condition.

The king wills, that the right of *FRANC-FIEF* shall be abolished as soon as the revenues and expenses of the state shall be brought to balance each other.

All sorts of property, without distinction, shall be constantly respected ; and his majesty expressly mentions, under the name of property, tythes, hundredths, rents, rights, and services, feudal and seignorial ; and in general all useful or honourable rights and prerogatives attached to lands or fiefs, or belonging to persons.

The two first orders of the state shall continue to enjoy the exemption of personal charges, but the king wishes the states-general to obey itself in converting these sort of charges into contributions in money, and then

then that all the orders should be alike subjected to them.

The intention of his majesty is to determine, with the advice of the states-general, what are to be the employments and places which shall in future transmit or confer nobility. His majesty, nevertheless, according to the right inherent in the crown, will grant patents of nobility to such of his subjects, as, by services rendered to the king or to the state, shall have shewn themselves deserving of such a recompence.

The king wishing to secure personal liberty to all citizens in a lasting and solid manner, invites the states-general to seek out and propose to him the best mode of reconciling the abolition of *LETTRES DE CACHET* with the safety of the public, and with the precautions necessary in certain cases to preserve the honour of families, as well as to crush sedition in its commencement, and to secure the state against the effects of criminal correspondences with foreign powers.

The states-general will examine and make known to his majesty the best means of reconciling the *LIBERTY OF THE PRESS*, with the respect due to religion and manners, and the honour of citizens.

There shall be established in the different provinces or generalities of the kingdom, provincial states, composed of two-tenths of members of the clergy, of whom one part will be necessarily chosen from the episcopal order, three-tenths from the order of the nobility, and five-tenths from the third estate.

The members of the provincial state shall be freely chosen by their respective orders; and it will be necessary to be possessed of some property in order to be either a voter or a member.

The deputies of the provincial states shall deliberate in common upon all affairs, according to the customs and practice of the provincial assemblies whom these states shall replace.

An intermediate commission, chosen by these states, shall administer the affairs of the province during the interval of the sessions; and these intermediate commissions being responsible for their conduct, shall have delegates chosen by themselves alone, or by the provincial states.

The states-general will propose to the king their views with respect to all other parts of the interior organization of the provincial states, and for the choice of the forms applicable to the election of the members of the said states.

Independent of the objects of administration with which the provincial assemblies are charged, the king will confide to their care the administration of hospitals, prisons, depots for mendicants, foundling hospitals, the inspection into the expenses of towns, the care of forests, the care and the sale of timber, and such other objects as may be advantageously administered by the provinces.

All contestations that may arise in the provinces where ancient states have existed, and all reclamations against the forming of these assemblies, should occupy the attention of the states-general, who will make known to his majesty the dispositions of justice and of wisdom which it may be proper to adopt, in order to establish a fixed rule in the administration of these provinces.

The king invites the states-general to occupy itself to discover the best means of turning the royal domains to advantage, as well as to give their views with respect to those which are mortgaged.

The states-general will occupy itself about a project conceived a long time past of carrying all the custom-houses to the frontiers of the kingdom, so that the most unrestrained and free circulation of merchandises, whether foreign or national, may take place in the interior of the kingdom.

His majesty desires that the vexatious effects of the taxes on salt, and the importance of that revenue, may be carefully considered ; and that, at all events, means of softening the rigour in receiving the said tax be attended to.

His majesty desires likewise that the inconveniencies arising from the *droits d'aides*, and other taxes, may be carefully considered, but without losing sight of the absolute necessity of preserving an exact balance between the revenue and the expenses of the state.

According to the intentions manifested by his majesty, in his declaration of the 23d of last September, the king will examine with serious attention such projects as shall be delivered to him on the administration of justice, and of the means of perfecting the civil and criminal code.

The king wills, that such laws as he may promulgate during the holding of the states-general shall not suffer any delay in the enregistering, nor any obstacle in their execution, throughout the whole extent of his kingdom.

His majesty's will is, that the corvée for the making and keeping in repair high roads, shall be entirely and perpetually abolished in his kingdom.

The king wills the abolition of the right of *mainmorte*, of which his majesty has given an example on his own domains, should be extended to the whole of France ; and that some means may be proposed to him to indemnify the lords in possession of such rights.

His majesty will incessantly make known to the states-general the rules by which he means to regulate the *capataineries*, and thereby give his subjects a proof of his affection by putting restrictions on what is most intimately connected with his personal enjoyments.

The king invites the states-general to consider the drawing for the militia in every point of view ; and to consider on the best modes for reconciling the defence of the state with the ameliorations which he would wish to bring about in the condition of the subject.

It is the king's will that all rules and dispositions for public order and the happiness of his people, which his majesty shall have sanctioned by his authority during the session of the present states-general ; and, amongst others, those relative to personal liberty, equality of taxes, the establishment of provincial states, never can be changed without the consent of the three orders taken separately. His majesty places them already in the rank of national property ; and he desires to place these, like every other species of property, under the most sacred guard possible.

His majesty, after having called the states-general in order to assist him in great objects of public utility, and in every thing that can contribute to the happiness of his people, declares in the most express manner, that he will preserve entire and without the least alteration the institution of the army, as well as of all authority, police, and power, over the military, such as the French monarchs have always enjoyed.

I have given this translation complete, as being the only specimen that I know of the legislative talents or disposition of the court of France, previous to the 14th of July, towards bettering the state of the people. A few observations must occur to every one on reading this. To all, the time and circumstances under which this was offered will render its sincerity suspected ; and it is evident that no security was given for the permanence of the advantages that were offered and the concessions proposed. It was, in one word, a half-measure ; for an arbitrary monarch it was too much, and for a free people too little. The royalists are attached to this declaration in the same way that the constitutionalists are to the constitution, and with just as little reason. The king

king here says, that when he promulgates a law, during the sitting of the states, no delay to the sanction, nor no opposition to the execution was, to be given ; he there imposed a very hard law, and set his enemies the example about the veto. Whoever composed this must be accused of total ignorance of the rights that are necessary to secure freedom, and to protect the people against arbitrary power. At the same time that I make these observations, I think, that if it were possible for those who possess power to exercise it with moderation, and to keep strictly to what is their right, France might have enjoyed great advantages under their monarchy with those modifications, for I do not think they are capable of ever enjoying what we in England call freedom. I know them well, and I shall never believe, until I am convinced by experience, that the French have patience or calmness sufficient to administer a free government, and without a good administration, freedom is worse than despotism.

NOTE B.

A CIRCUMSTANCE little known will prove, that there was no bravery displayed in the taking of the Bastille. A number of the subscribers to the Lyceum at Paris determined to collect and publish the facts relative to so extraordinary an exploit ; accordingly, a great number of witnesses were examined, and it was discovered at last, that the governor had opened the door, and let the conquerors walk in. A debate then arose amongst the compilers of the history—Shall we publish a thing that will be disgraceful to the Parisians after so much boasting and so many falsities ? or shall we desist ? were the questions. Let us go on, said one subscriber, we are searching for truth, let us find it ; but as all truths are not good to be told, let us not publish it. The advice was taken, and the latter part of it was the best ;

best; for certainly the conquerors of the Bastille would soon have pulled down the Lyceum, if the truth had been published.

This anecdote, for the truth of which I appeal to M. de la Harpe and M. la Croix, or any of the literary gentlemen who attended the Lyceum at that time, is a proof of the spirit of democratic deception which pervaded the people of Paris from the beginning of the revolution, and the unanimity with which the French nation joins in exalting its own bravery and deceiving the world. Whilst all orders of nobility were destroying, an order was instituted, (composed of revolted soldiers, some of the sans culottes of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and M. M. Bailly and La Fayette) decorated with a medal, bearing the inscription, "Conquerors of the Bastille." The origin of this was insurrection, and the manner of obtaining it was the testimony of seven conquerors, which dubbed the eighth conqueror too. As French books of heraldry are all burned, I know not by what regulation M. Bailly and La Fayette were admitted conquerors, as they were at Versailles on that glorious day. It was by such tricks as this that all Europe was juggled by the first revolutionists, who were neither conquerors, philosophers, nor well-meaning men; but who, by false facts and false appearances, contrived to pass for all the three.

NOTE C.

M. DE LA FAYETTE was the first who read a project of the rights of man to the assembly on the 10th of July, 1789; the immediate consideration of this project was delayed by the revolution, which happened two days after. It was the custom for such different deputies as chose it, to give projects on important occasions,

sions, and the assembly adopted that which it liked the best. Mounier was a literary man and of great abilities, his project was preferred; but, in fact, it was very little different from that of Fayette.

Next to the duty of insurrection, the unlimited liberty of the press was the worst of the rights, sedition and calumny are the elements of public and private misery and misfortune, and it is very unfortunate, that it should be possible so far to mislead people, as to make them for a moment imagine, that the cause of liberty is forwarded by such rights. A democrat imagined, as the best method of putting an end to the despots of Europe, to dispatch a good staunch French patriot apothecary to each capital in Europe, where, under the cloak of the law, he might sell poison, and wait for occasion to sell it to good purpose. A very grave discussion took place, and it was the general opinion of the democrats present, that to sell poison was one of the rights of man on all occasions, and that it was sometimes a duty (*vendre l'arsenic c'est le droit de toute homme, et l'administrer sur des certains occasions c'est un devoir*). To such a pitch as this did a declaration of rights and duties lead men, by having overturned the usual ideas of moral right and wrong, and set the ignorant and ambitious loose on a sea of error.

NOTE D.

THE declaration of rights originated with M. de la Fayette two days before insurrection broke out in Paris, and the people were just full of that new idea of the sacred duty of insurrection, when the armed force arriving gave them the signal for putting the principle in practice. If the famous declaration of rights were out of the reach of criticism in any other way, still it might be attacked upon this principle, that all the parties

parties since have equally invoked it, and that therefore it is either so contradictory in itself, or so difficult to be understood, that it leads men to oppose one another, at the same time that they think themselves all conforming to the same declaration.

The consequences of the bill of rights have been terrible, and its origin was vanity. When in England our forefathers insisted upon a bill of rights, they satisfied themselves with fixing them upon a solid basis, without running the risk of throwing out abstract principles to lead the people astray. Metaphysical reasonings are sometimes necessary to lead people to just conclusions, but they are very dangerous when thrown out to the people at large, who, in spite of what may be said to the contrary, are more interested in the obedience of laws than the principles upon which those laws are founded. It was the vanity of wishing to appear philosophers that made the first assembly draw up the declaration in the manner that it was done, or, in other words, that made them adopt this declaration. M. Mounier, though a very clever man, was not exempt from reproach on this head, and it seems probable, that he was led into it by the first idea given by La Fayette, for the fact is, that though Mounier's project was preferred, all the originality of it was due to La Fayette's first speech on that subject. Perhaps, also, as Mounier had revolt to excuse, having himself participated in it, he was led to make the declaration different from what he would have done had he wrote it a few weeks sooner: be that as it may, he was one of the first to see and to feel the excesses to which it led.

NOTE F.

THIS sanguinary expression of Barnave made a very great impression at the time, and did an immense deal
of

of harm, for it was construed by the people into a sort of approbation on the part of the assembly of imbruing their hands in blood, provided it was not very pure. The man who had the ferocity to explain himself in such a manner, not only must have had no feeling, but he must have been totally ignorant of the terrible consequences of a mob taking upon itself to judge, whether the blood of any individual man was pure or not; because, if Barnave was to be credited, murder was only to be lamented when the person murdered was innocent; now a more dangerous idea never could be held out to the people, for where does an incensed mob ever imagine that its victims are innocent? The assembly certainly participated in Barnave's crime, by not instantly shewing indignation at such a principle. The mass of the people can only be restrained from punishing its enemies by inculcating well upon them, that all punishments without a previous, and free, and fair conviction of their justice, are equally criminal.

NOTE G.

BERTHIER and Foulon were not more obnoxious to the people than many other persons who were never touched; but the father-in-law, as a monied man, and Berthier, as intendant of Paris, were acquainted with some manœuvres respecting the monopoly of grain, that it would have been very dangerous for the party of the Duke of Orleans to have made known. Persons were seen exciting the mob to destroy the victims, and certainly the rage against Baron de Besenval, *who was not injured by the mob when he was brought to Paris*, tried and acquitted, was much greater than it had ever been with regard to Foulon and his son-in-law.

NOTE

NOTE H.

ALTHOUGH the duke had taken a great many precautions to prevent discovery, yet as he had several accomplices that were imprudent, all he could do was to prevent punishment, and there are some of the creditors of the unfortunate banker who have got sufficient proofs of the transaction in their hands to lay a claim upon the succession of the family of Orleans, if things should ever take such a turn in France as to admit the possibility of it. The manœuvre was not entirely unknown at Versailles, for the queen was heard to say, on being shewn a person who had been ruined by this bankruptcy, Ah! that unfortunate money of Pinet, it has largely contributed to our misfortunes. In Paris it was spread abroad, that the unfortunate man, having lent large sums to the Count d'Artois, had blown out his own brains on account of the flight of that prince, so that the democratic party gained doubly by this assassination; they acquired money and incensed the people against the extravagance of the court, by pointing out Pinet's numerous creditors as the victims of the extravagance of the Count d'Artois.

NOTE I.

MIRABEAU certainly was, previous to this, in favour with the Duke of Orleans, and he owned, that having met the Duke on the road, he had observed to him, that whether they had a Louis Sixteenth or Seventeenth upon the throne, it was all the same to the nation; upon which, said he, the duke spoke to me with great complacency and good-nature.

With regard to the report laid before the assembly by M. Chabroud on this subject, it is very clear, that though there was no positive evidence against the duke, there was much presumptive proof; from which, however, Chabroud concludes, that the duke was not guilty. It would have been very imprudent to have found the great democratic leader guilty of any attempt against the sovereign, as such attempts were deemed honourable and usefull, and even the cut-throat Jourdan, who had been active, and had cut off the heads of two of the life guards, was protected from justice, though accused, and an order for arresting him given; so far was this fellow from being punished, that, though one of the lowest of the people, he afterwards became a general at Avignon. Robespierre purged the world afterwards of both those monsters. One argument used for the exculpation of M. d'Orleans was, that the Duke de Biron was supposed to be along with him, and that this latter had never shewn himself to be of a sanguinary disposition. The case was, that though Biron was a very different sort of a man, yet they had become allies and partners in most of their actions, the one was the tool, the other the knave, and Biron, as he plainly shewed since, was an enemy to the king; he was one of those easy men, who, when they have not a fixed principle of action in their own breast, are ready to let themselves be led away by the designing and wicked.

N O T E K.

SEVERAL different parties proposed plans for saving the royal family; all were rejected by his majesty as being inconsistent with the oath which he had taken, and in danger of producing a civil war. It is not to be doubted but that the fear of being arrested a second time, and worse treated than on the former occasion, weighed much

much with the king, particularly as after what had happened on the 20th of June, the oath that he had taken could no longer be considered as binding. It was after the 20th of June, that those who had before endeavoured to persuade his majesty to depart, doubled their efforts and persuasions. It was proposed to convey the royal family secretly to *Compiègne*, to which place a detachment of the army of La Fayette would have been sent to their protection. And when the king refused this plan another was proposed. Under the escort of 1500 of the national guards, of whom they could be certain, 300 Swiss guards, and about 1500 gentlemen, it was proposed to conduct the royal family to Rouen in Normandy, where the inhabitants, the troops, and the commanders, would all be sure to favour the enterprise. This plan was also refused only a few days before the 10th of August.

No step that the king could have taken could be more unfortunate for the nation than that which he persisted in, of remaining till he was attacked; but perhaps he might have taken one more unfavourable to himself. The Jacobins have shewn, on all occasions, so much energy, and the other party so little; the former have been so fortunate, and the latter so unlucky, in whatever they have attempted, that it is probable the king would have been led into some difficulty, that would have terminated in putting him again into the hands of his enemies, when he would not have been so irreproachable as he remained by refusing to move from Paris. At all events, the unfortunate monarch would not have been much better, because he would have been in the hands of the constitutionalists, who were not, certainly, able to defend themselves within the kingdom against the anarchists, and who were equally inimical to all the combined powers. The king's heart is greatly to be praised for the resolution of remaining, and his understanding merits praise also, if he only could have had the same resolution, when the department of Paris, a few days after, proposed to him, to quit his palace to take refuge in the assembly.

NOTE L.

THE disposition of La Fayette to enter into plots to carry off the king is of very little importance, merely as being a proof of his personal ambition, of which those who knew much about him never doubted; but it is a clear proof that La Fayette, and those who acted with him, were, and had been all along, actuated by personal motives, and that oppression towards the king only displeased them when it came from others, and not from themselves. What was the difference between the elopement of the royal family now and when La Fayette aided to treat the king with such severity on his return from Varennes; The king had not, on the former period, taken the oath, and now he had taken it. His liberty had been just as much infringed upon when the people refused to let him go to St. Cloud as it had been on the 20th of June, and personally he had been as much insulted, and the queen still more. The only difference that can be seen was the position of La Fayette and his friends; on the former occasion they were in power, and now they were not; they then ruled, and now they plotted. It is just what all the Jacobins have done from the beginning to the present moment, and when we see La Fayette acting, such a part, we are ready to suppose, that if circumstances had demanded, in order to acquire power, he would have entered into the convention and fallen with the Brissotines. La Fayette was never much esteemed in America, but he took great care to receive Thomas Paine, Mr. Barlow, and all the other Americans who came to Paris, at his table, and by that means he had so many trumpeters. If, therefore, we may judge of him by his friends, he was a republican in his principles, and only affected to be a royalist, because he found it most likely to satisfy his own ambitious views.

N O T E . M.

SOON after the king came to the assembly, a note from the mayor arrived to inform the president, that he was confined in his own house, and could not come to the assembly.

The assembly answered this note in a style of oriental flattery and adulation, as follows :

“ If the first of the constituted authorities is yet
 “ respected ; if the representatives of the people,
 “ friends to their happiness, have any ascendant over
 “ them, or preserve their confidence, they beg the ci-
 “ tizens, and command them, in the name of the law,
 “ to lift the consign at the mayory, and to allow to ap-
 “ pear before the eyes of the people the magistrate
 “ whom the people cherishes.”

To this address was added another to the people.

“ In the name of the nation, in the name of liberty,
 “ in the name of equality, all the citizens are invited
 “ to respect the rights of man, liberty, and equality.”

Both these addresses were ordered to be printed and placarded through the city.

A deputation of one of the sections of Paris arrived immediately after.

“ We adhere,” said they, “ to the desire manifested
 “ by the municipality, for the decheance of the king.
 “ Receive, legislators, with that declaration the testi-
 “ mony of our confidence, but dare to swear that you
 “ will save the republic.”

All the members rose up and exclaimed, “ We swear
 “ to save the empire.”

Addresses

Addressees came in from all the sections, and one from the municipality of which Huguenin was the orator; the same who had harangued the king on the 20th of June.

Another orator arrived, (an artillery man of the national guards) who spoke in the name of *the people*; covered with blood and filth, he offered, as a preface to his petition, to murder the king, if it were necessary; and then added, "you must know, that the palace is on fire, and that we will not stop the flames until the vengeance of the people is satisfied. I am charged, yet once more, *to demand the decheance of the executive power.*"

The assembly had already taken the hint, and now was prepared to do whatever the people ordered, accordingly the following decrees were passed immediately.

The national assembly, considering that the dangers of the country are arrived at their greatest degree;

That it is the most sacred duty of the legislative body to employ every means of saving it, and that it is impossible to find any efficacious means of so doing, unless the sources from which these evils flow are stopped:

Considering that these evils arise principally from the mistrust inspired by the conduct of the executive power, in a war undertaken in his name against the constitution and the national independence:

That this mistrust has induced different portions of the empire to testify the desire of seeing the powers entrusted to Louis XVI. withdrawn:

Considering, at the same time, that the legislative body ought not to augment its own power, and will not do so by any usurpation:

That

That in the extraordinary circumstances in which it is placed by unforeseen events, it cannot reconcile the unalterable duty which it owes to the constitution, with its firm resolution to sink under the ruins of the temple of liberty rather than to let it perish, by any other method than having recourse to the sovereignty of the people, and taking, at the same time, the precautions necessary to prevent such recourse to the people from being illusive, decrees what follows :

Art. I. The French people is invited to form a NATIONAL CONVENTION ; the extraordinary commission will present to-morrow a plan for that purpose, indicating the mode and the time for that convention.

Art. II. The chief of the executive power is provisionally suspended from his functions, until the convention shall determine on the measures to be taken for assuring the sovereignty of the people, and the reign of liberty and equality.

Art. III. The extraordinary commission shall present within the day, the new organization of the ministry. The present ministers are continued till then.

Art. IV. The extraordinary commission shall present likewise a plan for naming a governor for the Prince Royal.

Art. V. The payment of the civil list is suspended until the convention shall have deliberated. The extraordinary commission shall, within the first twenty-four hours, give in a plan for the allowance to be paid to the king during his suspension.

Art. VI. The registers of the civil list shall be deposited on the table of the national assembly, after being examined by two commissaries who shall be named for that purpose, and who shall go to the house of the intendant of the civil list.

Art. VII. The king and his family shall remain under the

the roof of the legislative assembly, until tranquility shall be re-established in Paris.

Art. VIII. The department shall give orders within the day to have apartments prepared in the Luxembourg for their reception, where they shall be placed under the safe-guard of the law and of the citizens.

Art. IX. Every public functionary, foldier, non-commissioned officer, or officer, who shall abandon his post, is declared infamous, and a traitor to his country.

Art. X. The department and municipality of Paris shall cause the present decree to be solemnly proclaimed.

Art. XI. Extraordinary messengers shall be sent to the eighty-three departments, with copies of this proclamation; and within twenty-four hours after, they shall be obliged to have the same proclaimed formally by the respective municipalities.

The royal family was present in the assembly all this time, and whatever abstract theorists may think, this circumstance adds not a little to the indignation which the conduct of this assembly, which was equally cruel and cowardly, inspires.

To appease the people, the following proclamation was ordered to be placarded immediately :

The king is suspended ; he and his family remain as hostages.

The present ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the nation ; the assembly is occupied in replacing them.

The civil list is suspended.

NOTE N.

IN consequence of the pressure of petitions from all parts, ministers were named according to a series of arrangements, which ministers were to act as king. The minister of justice (Danton) was empowered to place the great seal during the suspension of the king; but the republican party cried out, that the form of a great seal being royal was useless and improper, the decree was annulled, and it was determined that all acts should be published without any preamble, and signed by the minister of justice, in the name of the nation.

NOTE O.

ON the 14th of July, insurrection against an hereditary monarch was the theme, but it was not till the 10th of August that it was found that the same weapon might be turned against the constitution of their own making. This consequence had long been foreseen by many persons, but now became evident to all. Those who had any remainder of principle or good intention, were in despair after the 10th of August; they saw then that all their work was to do over again, and the prospect for insurrection seemed boundless; for if the constitution which had been so much adored, and to which so many oaths of fidelity had been taken, could be destroyed between nine o'clock and eleven in the forenoon, what could be expected to be preserved? The wretched state of public credit, and of individuals likewise, rendered the prospect of a second revolution a very dismal one.

NOTE P.

THE manner in which the constitution was done away, is the best commentary that can possibly be made on the conduct of the constituent assembly; the consecration of insurrection, and the right of changing the constitution, on one hand; and on the other, endeavouring to fetter their followers with regard to any changes of constitutional articles. Every bad combination in affairs of importance leads to misfortune; and certainly there is no difficulty in tracing the 10th of August to the imperfections of the constitution. A king with too little power, and insurrection legalized; with a legislative assembly, composed of ambitious, intriguing men, who longed for the moment that they should be able to throw off the fetters which the constitution had cramped them with. The reception given to the deputations of those who had demanded the decheance of the king, when there was no mob at the door of the assembly, as well as their cruel conduct to him after. The flattering proclamation about Petion the magistrate, whom the people cherished, added to the facility and quickness with which the decrees were passed, all join to prove, that the assembly was as ready to destroy the constitution, as the people were to demand its destruction.

NOTE Q.

BEFORE the massacre took place, it had been determined on so decidedly, that three hundred livres had been given to the grave-digger of St. Sulpice, to prepare at Mont-rouge, a mile out of town, a large grave, in which their bodies might be interred.

Manuel

Manuel seems to have been a particularly active agent in this, and the other massacres, for he had been to take M. de Beaumarchais from the prison of the Abbey, where he was confined two days before the massacre, and had told the *Traiteur* who sent victuals to the prisoners at the Carmelites, to get his bill quickly paid, for that all the prisoners would soon be disposed of.

It is clear that Manuel and Petion acted both before and after this in concert. It is equally certain, that Petion and the party of Brissot acted together both before and after this; therefore there can be no sort of reason for making a distinction between them as to criminality.

The bodies of the persons massacred in the other prisons, were thrown into the stone quarries that are near Paris. It is singular enough, that Petion and such of his friends as escaped the guillotine in Paris, about six months after, saved themselves from the people sent to arrest them, *in the stone quarries near Bourdeaux.*

The most shocking thing, however, in these massacres, is certainly the facility with which the instigators of them found executioners. Charles the Ninth did not every where find obedience when he ordered the St. Bartholomew; and the murderers of Admiral Colligni started back with horror, and hesitated, though they were obliged at the risk of their lives to obey. The murderers of the bishops and priests felt no such check in their career; they were not compelled by any force to be cruel, nor restrained by any principle from being so. This is perhaps the best answer that can be given to those philosophers who are at such pains to shew that the human heart is degraded by the shackles of religious prejudice, and elevated by getting rid of it. Certainly if there is any difference between murderers, it is in favour of those who acted under the mistaken influence of religion, to those who acted under the mistaken influence of philosophy.

In its proper place it had been mentioned, that the clergy of Paris had been particularly charitable during the severe winter of 1788. Amongst the priests murdered at the Carmelites, were many of those very men; amongst their murderers were, very probably, some who had received their help; and if not, Paris at least contained thousands of persons who had, and who now might have protected them, for the fans culottes run no risk in protecting any persons they pleased; and it was the indigent of 1788 who were become the rulers in 1792, so that they might be literally said to be murdering their benefactors.

NOTE R.

AMONGST the different accounts of the massacres, none is more interesting than that of M. de St. Meard, formerly captain in the regiment du Roi, who was arrested as editor of a journal. He was one of the persons who felt what he described, and without following him completely through what he with great propriety calls his *Agony*, nothing can give a better idea of the horror of the scene, than some extracts from it in his own words.

After having been arrested and carried to the mayor's house on the 22d of August, M. de St. Meard had been conducted to the prison of the Abbey, where he remained amidst a number of unfortunate men like himself, confined in what had formerly been the chapel of the prison.

“ On the 2d of September,” says he, “ the door-keeper brought our dinner at an earlier hour than usual. His distracted looks and haggard appearance made us preface something sinister. At two o’clock he returned, we crowded around him, but he was deaf to all our questions, and after he had, con-
 “ trary

“ trary to custom, gathered up all the table knives and
 “ forks, he made the nurse of the wounded Swiss offi-
 “ cer, *Reding*, quit the apartment.

“ At half past two o’clock. the terrible noise which
 “ the people made in the court, and in the street, was
 “ augmented by the drums, the cannon of alarm, and
 “ the tocsin.

“ We now saw three carriages pass by, escorted by
 “ an immense mob of men and woman, who cried fu-
 “ riously *to the force, to the force*; (that was to death).
 “ They were then conducted to the cloister of the Ab-
 “ bey, where they were shut up along with other
 “ priests, and in a few minutes after we were inform-
 “ ed, that all the bishops and ecclesiastics who had
 “ been confined there were massacred.

“ Towards four o’clock, the piercing cries of a man
 “ whom they were hacking in pieces with sabres, drew
 “ us to the window of a small tower, from whence we
 “ saw the body of a man extended lifeless on the pave-
 “ ment. Presently after another was massacred, and
 “ so they continued to go on.

“ It is impossible to express the horror of the deep
 “ and gloomy silence that reigned during these execu-
 “ tions; it was only interrupted by the cries of those
 “ whom they immolated with strokes of sabres on the
 “ head. When the victim fell, a murmur arose, at-
 “ tended with the cries of *vive la nation*, a thousand
 “ times more frightful to us still than the horrors of
 “ the silence.

“ During the interval between the massacres, we
 “ heard people say distinctly, ‘we must not let one es-
 “ cape, we must kill them all, and particularly those
 “ who are in the chapel, where there are none but
 “ conspirators.’ It was of ourselves that they spoke,
 “ and we would have gladly changed places with those
 “ who were in the darkest dungeons.

“ At

“ At five o’clock a number of voices called M. *Cazotte*,* and an instant after we heard a great crowd on the stairs, the clattering of arms, and the cries of men and women. It was the old man whom they were dragging along, followed by his daughter; when he was out of the door, that courageous young woman threw herself on the neck of her father, and the people touched with the sight, demanded and obtained his pardon.

“ About seven in the evening, two men entered with bloody hands, and armed with sabres, conducted by the door-keeper, who shewed them the bed of the Swiss officer, *Reding*. At that moment I held him by the hand, and was trying to comfort him. One of these men made a motion to carry him off, but the miserable victim answered, ‘ Ah, Sir, I have suffered enough, I don’t fear death, have mercy upon me, and kill me here !’ These words prevented that person from saying any thing more, but his companion said, come along,; he put *Reding* then on his shoulders, and carried him into the street, where he received his death.

“ The same horrors and anxiety continued without intermission, when next day at ten o’clock, M. l’ *Abbé Lanfant*,” continues, St. Meard, “ the king’s confessor, and another clergyman, appeared in the tribune of the chapel, and announced to us that our last hour approached, and invited us to draw near to receive their benediction. An electrical movement, which cannot be defined, threw us all upon our knees, and with our hands joined, we received it. That moment, though consoling, was one of the most awful we had yet suffered. On the brink of eternity, and about to appear before the Supreme Being, kneeling before two of his ministers, we pre-

* *Cazotte*, author of *Olivier, le Diable Amoureux*, &c. he was a virtuous old man, and quite inoffensive; he was executed soon after by order of the municipality.

“ fented an appearance which cannot be described.
 “ The great age of the two venerable men, their po-
 “ sition, and death hanging over our heads, and fur-
 “ rounding us on all sides ; every thing joined to ren-
 “ der that ceremony awful and august ; it brought us
 “ nearer to the Divinity, and gave us courage ; all rea-
 “ soning was suspended, and the coldest and most in-
 “ credulous was as much impressed as those who had
 “ the most ardour and sensibility. In one half hour
 “ afterwards these two prelates were massacred, *and we*
 “ *heard their cries.*

“ What man will read the following details, without
 “ his eyes being filled with tears, without feeling him-
 “ self chilled with horror and dismay !

“ Our most important occupation was to discover
 “ what would be the position in which we ought to
 “ stand, in order to receive death with the least pain.
 “ We sent from time to time one of our number to
 “ the window of the small tower, to examine the posi-
 “ tion of the victims which they were slaughtering,
 “ and to determine after that, which would be best
 “ for ourselves to take. They informed us, that those
 “ who held up their hands, suffered much and long,
 “ because the flashes of their sabres were deadened
 “ before they struck the head ; that there even were of
 “ those whose hands and arms fell before their bodies,
 “ and that those who placed their hands behind the
 “ back suffered least. Well ! it was on such horrible
 “ details that we deliberated ; we calculated the ad-
 “ vantages of that latter position, and admonished each
 “ other reciprocally to take it when our turn to be mas-
 “ sacred should arrive ! ! !*

“ Towards midnight the executions seemed to have
 “ diminished, when an orator in the street demanded

* The description of M. de St. Meard goes on in the same manner till the morning of Wednesday at one o'clock. This recital, so interesting is, however, too long for the present work.

“ attention

“ attention from the people, and we heard him distinctly say, ‘The priests and conspirators who remain, have bribed the judges : behold the reason why they have given over judging.’ Scarcely had he finished when the noise of massacring began, and the cries and agitation of the people became terrible. Three of our companions were dragged out, which made me feel that my last hour was at hand.

“ At last, after having suffered thirty-seven hours of an agony, incomparably worse than death ; after having drank a thousand and a thousand times of the bitter cup, my prison opens, and I am called. I appear. Three men seized me, and dragged me to the terrible passage.

“ By the light of the torches I perceived the terrible tribunal, which was to give me death or life ; the president in a grey coat, a sabre by his side, standing and leaning on a table, upon which were papers, a writing-desk, some pipes, and bottles. Round the table were ten persons, sitting and standing, two of whom were in waistcoats and aprons ; others were asleep upon benches. Two men in their shirts, stained with blood, sabre in hand, guarded the door ; an old jailor held the bolt in his hand ; three men were then holding a prisoner, about sixty years of age, before the president. I was placed in a corner, my two guardians crossing their sabres on my breast, informed me, that on the smallest movement to escape, they would stab me. A letter from the section of the *Croix Rouge*, in favour of the prisoner, was delivered to the president, who answered, that demands in favour of traitors were useless. The prisoner then exclaimed, that’s terrible, your judgment is an assassination. The president then answered, I wash my hands of it, conduct M. Maillé. These words were no sooner spoke, than he was pushed into the street, where, through an opening in the door, I saw him massacred.

“ The

“ The president sat down to write (probably) the
 “ name of the miserable victim, which, having done,
 “ he said—To another.

“ Immediately I was dragged before this bloody and
 “ expeditious tribunal; two of my conductors held me
 “ by the two hands, and a third by the collar of my
 “ coat.”

The relation of the interrogatories that pass is very interesting, but long; St. Meard was acquitted, partly because one of the attendants of the prison was from the same province, and protected him, and partly because he defended himself with energy and ingenuity, and even gaiety; but it seems clear, that justice was not the reason, as numbers had been massacred, against whom even being a royalist could not be proved. As soon as St. Meard appeared in the street, the populace having been previously informed of the acquittal of a prisoner, one of his conductors cried, off with your hats, citizens, behold the man for whom the judges demand aid and assistance. When these words were pronounced, the executive power (the murderers) placed him between four torches, where he was embraced by all those who surrounded him. All the spectators cried out, *vive la nation*. He was then put under the protection of the people, who let him pass, accompanied by three deputies, whom the president had ordered to conduct him home. One of these deputies was a mason, the other an apprentice to a barber, and the third a federalist. When they had conducted him home, they refused to receive any money, and accepted only of a glass of brandy, saying, that they did not do that business for money.

This cruelty, parade of justice, of humanity, and disinterestedness, is inconceivable; the men who would have massacred him, embraced him, and out of veneration were obliged to take off their hats. It appears evident, that the leaders of all this meant to vindicate their horrible proceedings, in case it should afterwards

be necessary ; and horrible as this relation is, it may be considered as a vindication of the tribunal, else its author durst not have published it.

The massacre at the Bicetre was without any form of judgment at all.

NOTE O. 2.

THE miseries that have all along accompanied the revolution, rendered it necessary to find out an object of hatred, on whom those who wished to rule might throw the blame. A division of opinion was natural enough amongst ambitious men, who could not bear rivals in power, the court, however, served as an object for the hatred of the people, till it no longer existed ; the parties therefore now from necessity carried their hatred against each other to violent lengths, as there was no alternative but that of confessing that they were all in the wrong, or else attributing the misery to one party only.

The Brissotins wished to get the convention removed from Paris ; Robespierre, on the contrary, who felt that all his power was derived from the mob of Paris, and the Jacobin club, was obliged therefore to quarrel with them from necessity, and inclined to do it from interest ; each employed his means, Robespierre that of a Parisian mob, and Brissot that of an appeal to the people, both of which prove that insurrection was the principal cause of the miseries of France.

N O T E P. 2.

SOME extracts from Brissot's Appeal to his Constituents, as they are extremely conclusive in themselves, and come from a man who was so active a leader, deserve being noticed in a particular manner.

“ The laws without execution ; the constituted authorities impotent and disgraced ; crimes unpunished ; property of every kind attacked ; personal safety violated ; the morals of the people corrupted ; no constitution ; no government ; no justice. Such are the true features of this anarchy.”

“ I was of opinion that all insurrection could not but be fatal to the people, and to liberty, since it could be directed only against the representatives of the people.

“ I conceived that this *doctrine of eternal insurrection* must draw after it pillage and massacres, which must weary out and disgust the nation with the republican form of government.”

“ Liberty might so easily have found no other boundaries than those of the world, and now she must sorrowfully confine herself within the limits of France.”

“ You will see them convinced that the goodness of laws must depend upon the sobriety with which they are deliberated upon, and that the respect for the law depends also upon the respect in which the legislator himself is held.”

“ They are the men who, for the perpetuation of their own power, finding it necessary to perpetuate disorders, have divided society into two classes, those who have something, and those who have nothing, the *sans culottes* and the *men of property* ; who have ex-

“ cited

“ cited one of these classes against the other ; who, in
 “ order to ruin the latter class, wanted to have an army
 “ composed exclusively of persons, all of the former
 “ class, and paid *compulsorily* by the latter, and this ar-
 “ my has been decreed.”

“ Is it not farther the sad conclusion that must be
 “ drawn, when we bring to mind all the usurpations
 “ of power, all the violations of law, of which the
 “ municipality and the sections of Paris have been
 “ constantly rendering themselves guilty since the 10th
 “ of August, and which have always remained unpun-
 “ ished ? For which of the laws is it that they carried
 “ into execution ?”

“ When one sees this municipality, in spite of de-
 “ crees, shut the barriers and the play-houses at their
 “ pleasure, forbid such or such pieces, such or such
 “ journals, order to their bar the deputies, generals,
 “ and ministers, enjoin them to dismiss certain subal-
 “ tern functionaries, and send inquisitorial commissar-
 “ ies to their houses to watch over the execution of
 “ their decrees.”

“ What do I say ? No ! it is not in the commonal-
 “ ty of Paris that the exercise of the national sove-
 “ reignty resides. *It resides in a club, or rather in a*
 “ *score of those robbers who direct that club ;* who oblige
 “ all the authorities that are constituted by the nation
 “ to bend under them.

“ It is there, it is in that club where the anarchists
 “ of the convention domineer. It is there that the
 “ decrees are fabricated which are to come upon them
 “ with the force of a command. It is there, that un-
 “ der the title of petitions or addresses, orders are fa-
 “ bricated which are intimated to them. It is in that
 “ ware-house of calumny, that they every day disorgan-
 “ ize every thing, the ministry, the administration, and
 “ the army. It is from thence that the deputies, the
 “ ministers, and the generals, are called upon to make
 “ their

“ their appearance before them, and humbly bend the
 “ knee. It is there that they give in their accounts,
 “ that they make their answers to the denunciations
 “ against them. It is there that they pay obedience to
 “ the decrees of the club, who expel or condemn their
 “ subalterns. It is there that, occupied in accusing
 “ the Girondins of governing every thing, of usurping
 “ every thing, the leaders of the club, drawing to them-
 “ selves all authority, govern all, carry off all money,
 “ bargains, places, commissions, nominations to tribu-
 “ nals, &c. &c.

“ It is from thence, that the orders go to the revolu-
 “ tionary tribunal, to remove, to condemn, or absolve.
 “ It is there that the *accuser of this tribunal* complains
 “ that blood is not shed in sufficient abundance. It is
 “ there that the jurymen of this tribunal promise very
 “ soon to bring to the scaffold the heads of those de-
 “ puties who are enemies to the Jacobins.”

“ Yes, I declare, from the deep conviction of my
 “ soul, that as long as there exists no power able to re-
 “ press the crimes of the leaders of the Jacobins, there
 “ can exist no convention, no government. All the
 “ powers are necessarily with the club. There is the
 “ legislative body ; or rather, there is the body above
 “ the law—above all, the constituted authorities. *There*
 “ *is the absolute power of France.*”

“ Bournonville, on entering upon his administration,
 “ and after having examined the state of the expenses,
 “ has declared that there was a sum of one hundred and
 “ sixty millions (about six millions sterling) of the ex-
 “ penditure, of which there appeared no particulars.
 “ Cambon said to the committee in the rostrum, that
 “ it was impossible to bring the expenditure of that de-
 “ partment to light ; that a sponge must be drawn
 “ over it.”

“ You will see the provisions every where paid for
 “ two or three times over, ware-houses hired at an ex-
 “ cessive

“ cessive price ; battalions, though reduced to a third
 “ or a sixth, still paid for at their full compliment.”

“ *I am satisfied that I have fully proved that the anar-*
 “ *chists, under the name of the Jacobins of Paris, of the*
 “ *municipality of the sections, have governed, and do govern*
 “ *the convention, the executive power, and all the adminis-*
 “ *trations, and consequently that they govern the whole*
 “ *empire.*”

“ But war with England, with Holland, and with
 “ Spain, has changed the face of affairs, and it has
 “ stopped the course of our victories. Then what has
 “ occasioned this last war ? There are three causes
 “ of it :

“ 1st. The absurd and impolitic decree of the 19th
 “ of November, which very justly excited uneasiness
 “ in foreign cabinets ; a decree which men of know-
 “ ledge opposed in vain ; a decree brought to nothing
 “ by the anarchists themselves, who had pushed it on
 “ with rage : it was brought to nothing after a fatal
 “ experience ; but this was done too late, since the
 “ mischief had already been produced.

“ 2d. The massacres of the 2d of September, the
 “ impunity of which, commanded by the anarchists,
 “ has alienated from us all neutral nations.

“ 3d. The death of Louis.”

“ What did enlightened republicans think before the
 “ 10th of August, men who wished for liberty, not
 “ only for their own country, but for all Europe ?
 “ They believed that they could generally establish it,
 “ by exciting the governed against the governors, in
 “ letting the people see the facility and the advantages
 “ of such insurrections.”

“ But they would proscribe all stock-jobbing.—
 “ Why, then, did not Cambon shut up the exchange
 “ sooner

“ sooner, as Claviere has been incessantly requiring
 “ since 1791 ? It was going strait to the very source of
 “ the evil. Why, after having himself confessed that
 “ stock-jobbing could only be combated by counter-
 “ stock-jobbing ; why, after having confessed that
 “ stock-jobbing so prodigiously raised the price of spe-
 “ cific, why did they not grant to the executive council
 “ some millions for the operations of a bank for raising
 “ exchange ?”

“ How can you expect, that in this uncertain and
 “ wavering state in which you are, foreign powers can
 “ consent to treat with a convention, which is every
 “ day dragged through the dirt ; because it is the lowest
 “ disgrace to treat with an executive power, which
 “ is without intermission denounced, humiliated, and
 “ tottering.”

“ But foreign powers who would treat *with us in the*
 “ *actual state that we stand in, could they entertain a*
 “ *similar hope ?* No, they say—France is divided by
 “ factions. One triumph to-day. To-morrow it
 “ will be the triumph of another. If you treat with
 “ one, the other will break the treaty. There is no
 “ stability. Let us wait for that stability, and then we
 “ will treat.”

“ It is madness or imbecility itself to reckon upon a
 “ peace, or upon allies, while we are without a consti-
 “ tution. *There is no making an alliance, there is no*
 “ *treating with anarchy.* To treat with men, who have
 “ not the power to arrest the guilty, who insult them
 “ at their door, or the women, who in spite of their
 “ teeth, exercise the police of their precinct, or the Ja-
 “ cobins, who haughtily subscribe their contingent of
 “ heads to be cut off.”

“ Anarchists, robbers ! you may now strike ; I
 “ have done my duty ; I have told truths that will
 “ survive me ; truths which will at least efface the
 “ disgrace with which you would wish to cover my
 “ name ;

“ name; truths that will prove to all France that
 “ good men have constantly exerted their whole
 “ strength to open the eyes of France, and to preserve
 “ her liberty.”

NOTE Q. 2.

THE miscellaneous articles which belong to no part of the work in particular, but which serve to illustrate the whole, as serving to make known the state of France, may not be improper, though given without any regular order.

The decrees concerning the changes in the calendar, the denomination and division of the days and months, served to give the people a romantic sort of enthusiasm, to make a volatile nation naturally fond of change, admire its representatives, and forget its ancient habits.

The invention of new words, to express meaning, was often employed to render palatable to the people, what under its old name would have been too obnoxious. This is of more importance with the multitude than one is aware of at first, for ignorant men are governed by sounds. The royal power was brought into contempt by being called the executive power, and murderers were rendered less detestable by giving to them the same title. We have thus seen a perpetual change of names, even of towns, sections and districts; and this began with the revolution, and continued from the time that the states-general were called a national assembly, and that the title of provost of the merchants was changed for that of the mayor of Paris. By the last accounts we have from France, names have perpetually been changing. The great use made of names or epithets, to produce disgust, or excite ridicule, is a
 proof

proof that mankind at all times, and in all places, may be acted upon by this device, though it does not always succeed. M. d'Orleans, for instance, was unsuccessful in taking the title of *Egalité*; and the clock-maker, who called himself *Brutus*, as well as another citizen, who changed the name of *Le Roi* for that of *Dix Aout*, were only turned into ridicule.

But this changing of names had a mighty effect in overturning the ideas of the populace, and it is not to be wondered at, if the great number succeeded against the small in this contest of ridicule. *Sans culotte* was at first an epithet of contempt given to the ragged vagabonds, who collected in groups round the hall of the assembly, and in other public places. The people were at first much offended at that, but finding they could not get rid of the name, they took it up with good humour, and finished, by enforcing respect to it from those who at first intended it as mockery.

The different sections at Paris, which had been at first named after some street, square, or remarkable building in the section, had their names gradually changed to the section of unity, rights of man, William Tell, red bonnet, &c. This is something like the names given in the time of religious fanaticism in England, Pater-Noster-Row, Amen Corner, &c.

In order to gain to their party, scoundrels of all sorts, the leading party, even in their first beginning, made motions in the assembly and in the club, that shewed such men what a glorious career was opened to them by this revolution. In the end of the year 1790, when the revolution was yet very moderate, it was proposed to call together all the soldiers who had been drummed out of their regiments (*ceux que avient reçu des cartouches jaunes*) and to form a brigade of them, as being excellent patriots, persecuted for the love of liberty. This was too extravagant for that time, but might have succeeded very well afterwards. The forty rebellious soldiers who had been condemned to the galleys after

the affair of Nancy, were at last reclaimed by Collot d'Herbois and such other patriots; they were set at liberty, received a large sum of money, were feasted publicly, and finally were to have made a public entry into Paris, on the same triumphal car that served for the body of Voltaire when it was carried to the Pantheon. Instead of Voltaire's bed and dying apparatus, which had been in this car, twelve benches, elevated one above another, were placed for the galley slaves. A deputation of the national assembly, the judges of the tribunals, the municipality, and other constituted authorities, joined on the procession, in honour of the persecuted patriots, who, however, were themselves ashamed of the affair, and would not mount the car, so that the empty benches paraded along, drawn by twelve fine horses, and preceded by all the magistrates of the people. The galley slaves, mixing in the crowd, shewed that they had more modesty than the rulers of France. This happened at the same time that the cabals for the 20th of June, and 10th of August, were preparing.

N O T E R. 2.

Revolutionary tribunal, prisons, Le Bon, &c.

From the things brought against the revolutionary tribunal and the commissaries, as well as the proceedings at Nantz, it would appear, that though oppression and cruelty altered their form a little, it was not very different throughout France.

At Dijon the Jacobin club had a revolutionary army at its orders, which cost 250l. sterling per month; and while the revolutionary soldiers pillaged and arrested people, their wives and daughters filled the galleries of the club to applaud the most extravagant amongst its orators.

Fouquier

Fouquier Tinville proved, that he was obliged to bring before the revolutionary tribunal prisoners according to lists received. As great numbers of people were accused in one block, and with a great many different sorts of crimes at once, as witnesses in their favour were not heard, and as a few hours served to finish proceedings against any number, let it be ever so great, none could escape, except now and then one through protection or favour.

The deputies of Cambray accused Le Bon, the commissary of the convention, who had been sent into that quarter, of having made the streets run with blood: he was accused of keeping a condemned man four hours at the guillotine, while he read dispatches of arbitrary imprisonments, seizing effects of prisoners without giving any account, and of having, by summary methods, put to death numbers of innocent persons.

The Jacobin society of Nîmes confessed, that that city had been ruled as rigorously as if Robespierre in person had been there. “ Bourdon, judge of the revolutionary tribunal,” say the Jacobins, “ has blown out his brains, having incurred the displeasure of the society for his attachment to Robespierre. The mayor, (Courbis) author of Lists of Proscriptions, who went each decade with a number of prostitutes to dance *farandoles* round the permanent guillotine, is arrested, and will be judged.”

After the death of Robespierre the Jacobin societies themselves began to denounce his cruelties, although his agents were all chosen from these societies, and the societies were the protectors, the aiders, and abettors of his agents all through France. Talien had reason to call those men camélions in politics, it was a true description, but he should have included himself amongst the number.

N O T E S.

THOSE who had been the agents or accomplices of the cruelties of Carrier at Nantz, were tried before the revolutionary tribunal at Paris.

Different witnesses, Lereque, Perochot, Haler, Joly, and Mainguet, confessed that they had participated in the horrible scenes and cruelties committed on the prisoners. They confessed they had signed orders for shooting and for drowning prisoners without any motive; 162 priests were pillaged of all their effects and stripped naked; their executioners divided the spoils amongst themselves. The most insatiable avarice, unexampled ferocity, and immeasurable ambition, a desire of giving a scope to private vengeance, a singular taste for licentious feasts, are not the only things with which the members of the revolutionary committee are to be reproached; these monsters attacked the virtue of wives and daughters, and, to obtain mercy for fathers and husbands, it was necessary to submit to their sensual brutality. A company of troops, called the company of Marat, composed of the vilest dregs of the people, was entrusted with the power of life and death, and exercised the most terrible and unheard-of cruelties.*

 N O T E T.

THE decrees passed in the national convention, which gave their generals and commissaries a power of putting in requisition every article of utility to the republic that should be found in any conquered country, to be

* For a full account of these cruelties, see Porcupine's
 "BLOODY BUOY."

paid for in assignats, was not sufficient. They could not even spare their useless paper in return for really valuable articles; or rather, as they could not find any pretence for putting the money of the country in a state of requisition, the commissaries were allowed to levy contributions in specie, which was done to a very great amount, and exacted with very great rigour all over Flanders and Brabant. The whole of the wealth of the country was by this means at the disposal of the French army, so that particular acts of pillage were become entirely useless. It is very extraordinary that this has not been properly explained and made known, as the republic boasts of the respect for property shewn by its soldiers, when, in fact, every thing being enregistered, and at the command of the generals and soldiers, by means of assignats which cost nothing, and which from the nature of things can never find their way back to France, all pillage in detail would have been perfectly useless.

A regular account of their exactions and requisitions would be one of the most useful and curious pieces that the revolution of France has given room for, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will not be let slip, as it is, perhaps, the only way to convince foreign nations of the injustice and bad faith of the convention and of French patriots.

To those notes which shew completely the cruelty and injustice of the revolution, a few extracts from the Memorial of Gregoire on *Vandalism* may not improperly be added. This report was made at the request of the convention.

“The moveables belonging to the nation,” says he, “have suffered immense dilapidation, because rogues, who have always a logic to themselves, have said, *We are the nation*. Many of those rascals now have immense fortunes, which they have not had the prudence or the art to conceal, and who formerly could with difficulty exist upon their hand labour.

“It

“ It is in the fine arts that the loss has been the greatest.

“ For these five last years whatever was precious in paintings and libraries has been destroying or sold at a vile price to strangers; what the administrators did not sell, were left to be eat by worms, and exposed to the dust and the rain. We have just now learned, that at Arney the library has been put into hogs-heads !!

“ At Narbonne the books have been sent to the arsenal; and at Fontaine le Dijon the library of the Fuillants has been thrown aside as waste in the hall of old papers. Some individuals, of whom the taste may, perhaps, be false, and the knowledge limited, instituted revolutionary tribunals, which proscribed authors and condemned their books; Horace and Virgil have been condemned not only for acknowledging tyrants, but for having been often printed for the use of tyrants, and by the permission of tyrants.

“ How is it possible to restrain our indignation, when, to justify the burning of these books, we are told, that they were badly bound ?

“ Many of the libraries of mendicant monks contain editions printed in the first days of the art of printing; the Recolets de Saverne is of this number. Books which only sold here for a few crowns, have been sold in London for 125 guineas.

“ I pass now to dilapidations of another sort. Antique stones, medals, engraved stones, enamels of Petitot, gems, and morsels of natural history, have often been the prey of knaves. From all parts bitter complaints, well founded and true, arrived. As there are profits to receive on every sale, they take care not to reserve any thing, even when it is precious for public instruction.

“ It

“ It is also to be observed, that the commissaries are generally traders and brokers, who, knowing the value of articles, reap exorbitant profits by purchasing them at the sales. The better to succeed, they scatter the books, and take to pieces the machines; a tube of a telescope is found separated from its stand; and the cunning knaves know how to put them together again after they have been purchased at a low price. When they are afraid of the competition of people who are judges and men of principle, they offer them money to stay away; and there is an instance, where they beat the person who bid against them.

“ At Bretteuil's house a clock *en Malachite* was sold for a trifle, though it is the only one existing.

“ The four famous tables in wood of the Autrichienne, (the queen) admirable for their form, the workmanship and the materials, were sold for 800 livres, re-sold for 12,200, and bought back by the nation for 15,000.

“ In all quarters pillage and destruction were the *order of the day*.

“ At the clocks of the palace the statues of Justice and Prudence of Pilon were broke, and the coat of arms left at St. Nicolas la Chardonneret, the magnificent Calvary by Poulhu, from the designs of Le Brun, was broken; at St. Louis de la Culture a monument, considered as one of the chef-d'œuvres of sculpture, and which cost more than 200,000 livres, was mutilated; at Marly they broke and carried off l'Hypomene, l'Atalante, the figure of the Ocean, and two excellent copies of Diana and the Venus of Medicis.

“ At Franciade, (St. Denis) where the national club has with justice struck the tyrants even in their tombs,
they

they ought at least to have spared that of Turenne, when cuts of fabres are to be seen.*

“ If at Paris and its environs such have been the destructions, what must they have been in the provinces ?

“ At Nancy, in the space of a few hours, they broke and burned to the value of 100,000 crowns in books and pictures.

“ But on the frontiers and the departments of the north the destruction is such, that it is impossible to find words to describe it.

“ At Anet a stag in bronze was about to be destroyed on pretence that the chase was a feudal right ; it was saved on proving, that brazen stags did not come under the law.

“ At Pont Mousson a large picture, which connoisseurs offered to cover with louis d’ors as its price, was sold for forty-eight livres.

“ It would require a great portion of indulgence not to perceive wickedness as well as ignorance in all this ; but if ignorance is not always a crime, those who speak in its praise should know, *that it is always an evil* : almost constantly behind ignorance a contre revolutionary and evil spirit is concealed. Those who sawed down the *iron tree* in the botanic garden at Montpellier to make of it a tree of liberty, are perhaps the same who wanted to cut up the olive trees of the ci-devant Provence.

“ No sooner is a wise decree passed, than in the instant aristocracy endeavours to turn it to its purpose.

* At St. Denis, the Westminster Abbey of France, the coffins of all the race of kings were taken up, for the double purpose of making lead bullets and insulting royalty. It is evident, that Gregoire is just as violent as those who destroyed the monuments, with regard to royalty.

“ If

“ If they propose to convert the bells into cannons, immediately men, strangers perhaps, or paid by strangers, want to send to the foundery the collection of statues in bronze at the Little Augustins. The meridian circles made by Butterfield for the globes of Coronelli, and the medals which are at the national library; they calculated that all these objects would make the half of a little cannon.

“ At Lyons, Cassenet threw into the crucible 800 antique medals of gold.

“ To find salt-petre the antiquities of Arles were destroyed.

“ At Bouquier’s house celebrated pictures were destroyed, because they represented religious subjects; and at Praillin statues of Pagan gods were destroyed, as being monuments of the feudal system.

“ They went farther still; men armed with clubs, and preceded by terror, went to the citizens printfellers. A binding or a vignette have served as a pretext for destroying or stealing books, prints, geographical charts and pictures.

“ They even tore the print of the death of Charles I. because they found on it a coat of arms. *Ah! would to God, that after the reality, the engraving art could represent to us in the same manner the heads of all kings, even at the risk of seeing at the bottom a ridiculous blazoury.*

“ Without doubt it is necessary to speak to the eyes republican language, but we should calumniate liberty by supposing, that its triumph depends on the preservation or the destruction of a figure of despotism, and when such monuments happen to be of excellent workmanship, their preservation, according to the law of the 3d Frumaire, may be useful both for cultivating genius and the hatred of tyrants, who by that preservation are condemned to a sort of perpetual pillory.

Such is the mausoleum of Richelieu, one of the masterpieces of Girandon.

“ The frenzy of the barbarians was such, that they proposed to tear off the covers of books with arms, dedications, or privileges, that is to say, to destroy them altogether.

“ Be assured, that this new sort of fanaticism pleases the English. They would pay very dear for your fine editions *ad usum Delphini*, and not being able to have them, they will willingly pay to have them burned.

“ It is, perhaps, the English who have got the memorials, plans, and manuscripts, that are stole from the deposit of the army and the navy.

“ Permit me here to concentrate a series of facts which is curious and instructing.

“ Manuel proposed to destroy the port St. Denis, which proposal prevented men of taste, who loved the arts, from sleeping for eight days.

“ Chaumette, who caused trees to be pulled up, under pretext of planting potatoes, wanted likewise to kill all the rare animals in the museum of Natural History.

“ Hebert insulted the national majesty by degrading the language of liberty.

“ Chabot said, he did not like learned men, he and his companions had rendered that name synonymous with that of aristocrat.

“ Lacroix proposed, that soldiers might mount to any rank in the army, without being able to write.

“ Whilst the banditti in the Vendée were destroying the monuments at Parthenay, Angers, Saumur, and
Chinon,

Chinon, Henriot proposed to renew here the exploits of Omar at Alexandria; he proposed to burn the national library, and the same motion was repeated at Marfeilles.

“ Dumas said, that all men of genius should be guillotined; Robespierre said, there ought only to be one.

“ In the sections, to consummate the work and dry up all sources of instruction, it was resolved to destroy men of genius, of whom the existence is so often tormented by those who abuse them, that they may dispense with admiring them. All of them were indistinctly refused; cards of citizens, and the cry was, *Don't trust that man, he has written a book.* Such men were chased from the places they occupied; the pride of ignorance was flattered by the persuasion that patriotism, so necessary in all cases, was sufficient of itself alone, and so, on pretence of making principle triumph, bring into danger the fortune, honour, and life of citizens, by confiding them to unskilful hands. 'This is in what disguised aristocracy has completely succeeded.

“ The system of persecution against men of abilities was organised. Desfaulx, one of the first surgeons in Europe, was imprisoned, who is, besides, at the head of the greatest sick hospital in Paris, and almost the only one who raises young surgeons for the armies. Your committee has set him at liberty.

“ During nine months the celebrated translator of Homer, Bitaubé, the son of a refugee, whom the love of liberty brought back long ago into the country of his fathers, has groaned in a prison, and whom the tyrant of Prussia has deprived of his revenues because he is a patriot. Thellaye, Cousin, La Harpe, Vandermonde, Ginquené, Lachabeaußiere, La Roche, Sage, Bessroy, Vigéc, and many others, have shared the same fate.

“ Mauduit, Latourette, and Champfort, have perished victims to that inquisition.

“ Citizens,

“ Citizens, if the authenticity is disputed, or the importance diminished, of any of the facts which I have mentioned,* although that enumeration is very incomplete, there still would remain enough to serve for evidence of the mischiefs of ignorance and aristocracy.

Gregoire adds, “ that the republic acquires by its courage what Louis XIV. with immense sums could never purchase. The whole Flemish school, says he, has risen in a mass, to come and ornament our museums. Crayer, Vandyke, and Rubens, are on the road to Paris.

“ The greatest enemy of France could not wish the country to be going more rapidly to destruction, than by those different facts of crimes, cruelties, and follies, it seems to be.”

Two great masters in the art of painting nature have given a specimen of criminality and madness, that resemble strikingly the actors on the stage of the French revolution.

Shakespeare and Cervantes have painted the progress of crime and of folly as we see them exhibited in France. All the criminal leaders of the French revolution seem, like Macbeth, to think, that once steeped into guilt, it is less tedious to go on than to return, and the enthusiasts in liberty, like Don Quixote, mistake perpetually every ridiculous excess for patriotism. The strong are always patriots, and the persecuted aristocrats; and Gregoire, in his report to the convention, shews as completely that he is mad north-north-east as any bedlamite ever was; his memorial is, in itself, good and true, but whenever he mentions liberty, crowned heads, or aristocrats, he is just as raving mad as the knight of La Mancha was about his enchanters, his knights, and his castles.

* All Gregoire's facts are not given in this note.

To be consulted in ascertaining facts relative to the revolution.

The Journal de Paris	Feuille du Soir & Gazette de
Courier de Provence	Leyde
Moniteur	Gazette Universel
Logograph	M. de Montgalliard
Rabaut's History	M. Peltier, &c. &c.
Mounier's Letter	

Though, perhaps, none of these publications is free from many errors inevitable in relating what is recent, the conduct of the assembly, all remarkable facts and decrees, are accurate; and, in general, the French periodical papers have related things pretty truly, observing only that they must be compared together with care.

END OF PLAYFAIR'S
HISTORY OF JACOBINISM.

APPENDIX.

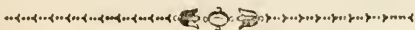
LIBRARY

HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN JACOBINS,
COMMONLY DENOMINATED
DEMOCRATS.

BY PETER PORCUPINE.

“History, who keeps a durable record of all our acts, and exercises her awful censure over *all sorts of sovereigns*, will not forget these events.”

BURKE.



PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM COBBETT, NORTH SECOND
STREET, OPPOSITE CHRIST CHURCH.

Nov. 1796.

DEDICATION.

TO

MR. WILLIAM PLAYFAIR,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF JACOBINISM.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE seldom known a greater pleasure than I now feel, in rendering you my thanks, in this public manner, for your spirited efforts in the cause of order and *true* liberty. Your work, Sir, has met with the approbation of all who have read it on this side the Atlantic, the enemies of mankind excepted; and, as to myself, I presume I could not give a more unequivocal proof of my high opinion of it, than by submitting it to the perusal of the people of the United States of America.

cause of order

The History of the American Jacobins, commonly denominated Democrats, which I have attempted in the following pages, seemed necessary to supply a deficiency, which, undoubtedly, is to be attributed to your want of authenticated materials. I am well aware, that

DEDICATION.

the reader will, at every step, regret that this part of the task also did not fall to your lot ; but, the experience I have had of the indulgence of the public, emboldens me to trust to it once more, though under the enormous disadvantage of following such a writer as Mr. Playfair.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

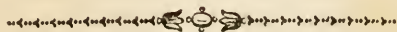
PETER PORCUPINE.

Philadelphia,
10th Nov. 1796.

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

AMERICAN JACOBINS, &c.



WHEN the Jacobins of Paris sent forth their missionaries of insurrection and anarchy, their professed object was to enlighten the ignorant and unchain the enslaved. There was something preposterous in the idea of Frenchmen giving liberty to the world; but, had it been possible for men in their senses to believe, that a club of distracted Monseurs, who knew not the meaning of the word liberty, were calculated for this arduous task and were serious in their professions, such credulous persons must have been at once undeceived, when they observed, that the newly-enlightened missionaries were dispatched to those countries alone where the greatest degree of civil liberty was already to be found. Had the Propagande at Paris been sincere in their professions, why were not their envoys directed towards Russia and Turkey, instead of England, America, and other free states? The fact is, Brissot and his philanthropic colleagues wanted to draw as many foreign nations as possible within the vortex of their own savage

*Missionaries
of Insurrection*

Propagande

Brissot.

system, and they well knew, that where the voice of the people has the most weight in public affairs, there it is most easy to introduce novel and subversive doctrines.

In such states too, there generally, not to say always, exists a party, who, from the long habit of hating those who administer the government, become the enemies of the government itself, and are ready to sell their treacherous services to the first bidder. To this description of men the sect of the Jacobins have attached themselves, in every country they have been suffered to enter. They are a sort of flesh flies, that naturally settle on the excremental and corrupted parts of the body politic. It is well known what aid they have received from the disaffected of several European nations; but, neither the Malcontents in Geneva, the Patriots in Holland, nor the Reformers in Great Britain and Ireland, were half so well adapted to the reception of Jacobinical doctrines and Louis d'ors as the *Anti-federalists* in America. This faction was co-existent with the General Government of the Union. Notwithstanding the necessity of establishing this government, and its mild and equitable principles, it did not fail to meet with a formidable opposition. The persons who composed this opposition, and who thence took the name *Anti-federalists*, were not equal to the Federalists, either in point of riches or respectability. They were, in general, men of bad moral characters, embarrassed in their private affairs, or the tools of such as were. Men of this cast naturally feared the operation of a government endued with sufficient strength to make itself respected, and with sufficient wisdom to exclude the ignorant and wicked from a share in its administration.

However, the *Anti-federalists* attracted notice, and acquired consequence. A hypocritical anxiety for the preservation of the liberties of the people made up for a want of every real virtue. Some of the states refused, for a long time, to accede to the new Confe-

Geneva
Holland
Reformers.

Antis

deration, and many individuals, in those states which did accede to it, remained obstinately opposed to its principles.

Thus did the Federal Government receive, at its birth, the seeds of a disease, which, unless its friends discover more zeal than they have hitherto done, will one day accomplish its destruction. It began its career in defiance of a party, organized and marshalled, and ready to seize the favourable moment for attacking it with open force. We shall soon see that this moment was at no great distance.

The happy effects of the new system, which were almost instantaneously felt, operated so forcibly on the minds of the people at large, that the Anti-federalists began to feel themselves abashed. Seeing their numbers daily diminish, they found it prudent to hide their discontent; nor would their clamors have since been revived, had they not been encouraged and backed by the usurpers in France. The successful example, the promises, and, above all, the gold of these latter, have emboldened them again to shew their heads; as the rays of the sun draw the adder from the loathsome retreat, where he has lain engendering and bloating over his poison.

gold. 2,

The French usurpers, from the moment they had got a firm grasp of the reins of power, lost no time in engaging this desperate faction in their views, which were, to acquire a perfect command of the American government, and force it into the war of Liberty and Equality. Monsieur Ternant, the then ambassador here, was, besides his being sent by a king, very justly looked upon as unfit for managing the intrigues of Brissot and his brother regicides. He had ever been accustomed to live on terms of friendship with the officers of government, and to treat their communications with becoming respect. Citizen Genet was therefore dispatched to supply his place: a man every way qualified for the mission he had to ex-

Ternant

Genet

ecute. Educated in the subaltern walks of the most intriguing court in Europe, he was versed in all the menial offices of corruption; and unencumbered with the family pride of the French Chevaliers, he could visit a democratic club, and give the fraternal buff to its shirtless members, with that kind of cordiality, which gives a zest to flattery, and seldom fails to gain the affections of the grovelling heart. If the Citizen has hitherto failed of ultimate success, we must attribute his failure to the deep penetration and inflexible integrity he had to encounter, rather than to any want of cunning, industry or *liberality* on his part.

Lucerne.

The attachment of the Federal Government to a pacific system was well known in France. Genet was therefore instructed, in case he should not be able to shake this attachment either by promises or threats, to apply himself to the sovereign people themselves, whose partiality, it had been represented, and with but too much truth, had received a strong bias in favour of the usurpers. In order to pave the way for acting in the last resort, he disembarked at a point the most distant from the seat of government, that he might have it in his power to act on some part of the people at least, before the sentiments of their government respecting him and his mission were known. He accordingly landed at Charleston, South Carolina, where he remained caballing for some time, and then proceeded to Philadelphia.

Charleston.

The inhabitants of Charleston, and, indeed, of most parts of South Carolina, were admirably disposed for a warm reception of Genet. Not long before his landing, a proposition had been published for a solemn abolition of the use "of all aristocratical terms of *distinction* and *respect*." The levellers had even proposed having an engagement to this effect, printed and stuck up in the market-places, court-houses, &c. for the signature of the citizens. In a state where fanculottism had already made such a progress, the animating presence of the Parisian Missionary was all

that could be wanted to complete the farce. The Carolinians had cut the strings of their culottes, and the Citizen pulled them down about their heels.

The frigate, L'Ambuscade, that brought Genet to America, brought also the news of war being declared by France against England. The inhabitants of Southern climes have never been famous for their wisdom; accordingly, the people of Charleston looked upon a prize, which the Ambuscade brought in with her, as an earnest of success, and an indubitable indication of French naval superiority.

L'Ambuscade

No sooner was Genet on shore, than he began to exercise his powers, as sovereign of the country. He commissioned land and sea officers, to make war upon the Spanish and English; he fitted out privateers, and opened rendezvous for the enrolling of both soldiers and sailors. The French flag was seen waving from the windows in this sans-culotte city, just as if it had been a sea-port of France. Genet was sent expressly to engage the country to take a part in the war, and such was his contempt for the government, that he did not look upon its consent as a thing worth asking for, or thinking about.

The Citizen found more volunteers than he knew what to do with, particularly of the higher ranks: Captains and Commodores, Majors and Colonels, flocked to his standard in such crowds, that had he had a hundred reams of paper in blank commissions, he might have filled them all up in the State of Carolina. Whether these men of high rank and empty purses were encouraged by the confidence they had in the power of the French, or by their own instinctive bravery, I know not; but as to the end they had in view, there can be little doubt. For one of them, who was actuated by a love of liberty, there were five hundred who were actuated by a love of plunder. Some of them longed for a dive into the Spanish mines, and, in idea,

already heard the chinking of the doubloons ; while others were eyeing the British merchant-men with that kind of savage desire, with which the wolf surveys a herd of fat oxen.

9. Ap. 1793

After having remained at Charleston from the 9th to the 19th of April 1793, the *Sans-culotte corps Diplomatique*, marched off for Philadelphia, where it arrived on the 9th of May.

I avoid mentioning the processions, banquets, &c. that attended the Citizen during his journey ; nor should I think it worth while to give an account of his reception at the capital, were I not assured that the civilians of the Rights of Man will hereafter quote it as a precedent in the laws of their ceremonial.

16 May. 1793

The city had been duly prepared for this famous public entry by paragraphs in the papers, announcing the Citizen's arrival at the different stages on the road. Expectation was kept on tip-toe for several days. The best penmen among the patriots were at work composing congratulatory addresses, and their choicest orators were gargling their throats to pronounce them. At last, on the happy 16th of May, a *salve* from the cannons of a frigate lying in the port, gave notice that the Citizen would soon be arrived a place called Gray's Ferry, about three miles distant from the city. Thither all the patriotically disposed went, to meet him, and escort him to his dwelling. In the evening of the same day there was, what was called, a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, when it was agreed to appoint a committee to draft an address to him. An address was accordingly prepared, submitted to the sovereign citizens, at a second meeting, highly approved of, and another committee, consisting of about half a hundred persons, appointed to carry it up.—But I must now avail myself of their own account of the business, feeling a total want of capacity to do it justice.*

* See the Gazette of *Poor Richard's Grand-Child*, of the 20th of May 1793.

Benjamin.

“ The citizens assembled expressing a desire to accompany their committee in presenting the address to the Citizen minister, two gentlemen were dispatched to know what time it would be convenient for him to receive it, and they returned in a few minutes with the following report: “ That Mr. Genet had expressed a high sense of the compliment intended to be paid him by the citizens of Philadelphia; that he was solicitous to avoid giving them the trouble of another meeting, and that if they would accept the spontaneous effusions of his heart, which, however deficient in point of form, would not be deficient in sincerity, as an answer to the address, he would be happy to receive it immediately, leaving to the ensuing day the ceremony of a written reply.”——“ The citizens testified their approbation of the minister’s proposition by *reiterated shouts of applause.*”

“ The committee, headed by their chairman, and followed by an immense body of citizens, walking three abreast, having arrived at the City-tavern, were introduced into the presence, and after the *acclamations, as well in the house as in the streets,* had ceased, the address was delivered, at the close of which *the house and streets again resounded with congratulations and applause.*”

“ Citizen Genet, evidently *affected with the warmth of the public attachment,* thus conveyed, delivered an extemporaneous reply, in terms which *touched the feelings* of every auditor, &c.—It is impossible to describe, with adequate *energy,* the scene that succeeded. *Shouts and salutations* were not untended with *other evidences* of the effect, which this interesting interview had *upon the passions* of the parties who were engaged in it.—From the citizens in the room the minister turned his attention to the citizens in the street, and addressed them in a few short but emphatic sentences, from one of the windows.”

In this instance we see the sovereign people taking the liberty to act for themselves, while their servants, the officers of government, stand looking on. What right, I would be glad to know, had the people of Philadelphia, even supposing them all assembled together, to acknowledge any man as a public minister, before he had been acknowledged and received as such by the General Government? No wonder that this insolent missionary should conceive, that that government was a mere cypher; and many of those who afterwards complained of his appeal to the people, should have recollected, that they had encouraged him so to do.

For some time after the Citizen's arrival, there was nothing but addressing and feasting him. It may not be amiss to give an account of one of these treats; the memory of such scenes should be preserved, and often brought into view.

“ On Saturday last a *republican dinner* was given at Oellers's hotel, to *Citizen Genet*, by a respectable number of French and American citizens. After dinner a number of patriotic toasts were drunk, of which the following is a translation :

- “ 1. Liberty and Equality.
- “ 2. The French Republic.
- “ 3. The United States, &c. &c.

“ After the third toast, an *elegant ode*, suited to the occasion, composed by a young Frenchman, was read by *Citizen Duponceau*, and universally applauded. The society, *on motion* [to be sure, *on motion*] ordered that *Citizen Freneau* should be requested to translate it into English verse, and that the original and translation should be published.

“ After a short interval, the *Marseillois's Hymn* was, upon the request of the citizens, sung by *Citizen Bournonville*, with great taste and spirit, the whole company joining in the chorus.” — I leave

the reader to guess at the harmony of this chorus, bel-
lowed forth from the drunken lungs of about a hun-
dred fellows, of a dozen different nations. Who
would have thought five and thirty years ago, when
the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were petitioning King
George for protection against the French and their
allies, the scalping Indians, that in the year 1793,
the people of Philadelphia would carry their complai-
sance to a French minister so far, as to ape his outland-
ish howling in the chorus of a murderer's song! But,
let us proceed with the feast.—“ Two additional
“ stanzas to the *Marfeillois's Hymn*, composed by *Citi-*
“ *zen Genet*, and suited to the navy of France, were
“ then called for, sung, and encored.”

“ Before the singing of the Hymn, it should be
“ mentioned, that a *deputation from the sailors* of the
“ frigate, *L'Ambuscade*, made their appearance, *em-*
“ *braced*, and took their seats.

“ The table was decorated with the tree and cap
“ of liberty, and with the French and American
“ Flags. The last toast being drunk, the cap of li-
“ berty was placed on the head of *Citizen Genet*,
“ and then it *travelled from head to head*, round the
“ table [just as the guillotine has since travelled
round France] each wearer enlivening the scene with
“ a patriotic sentiment.”

“ These tokens of liberty, and of American and
“ French fraternity, were delivered to the officers
“ and mariners of the frigate, *L'Ambuscade*, who
“ promised to defend them till death.”

Thus rolled Genet's time away, in a variety of
such nonsensical, stupid, unmeaning, childish enter-
tainments, as never were heard or thought of, till
Frenchmen took it into their heads to gabble about
liberty.

On the very day that this liberty-cap feast took place, the citizen minister was formally received, and acknowledged in his diplomatic capacity, by the President of the United States. There, indeed, his reception was not quite so warm. He afterwards complained, that the first object that struck his eye in the chamber, was the bust of Louis XVI. I never heard whether he started back or not, at the sight; but it is certain he looked upon it as an ill omen. He saw that he had not to do with a man, whose friendship shifted with the changes of fortune. He saw that the President had not been deceived by the calumnies heaped on the unfortunate king; and that, though the welfare of his country induced him to receive an envoy from his murderers, he was far from approving of their deeds.

This silent reproof, which must, however, be attributed to mere accident, stung the insolent Genet to the soul. His resenting it is a striking instance of that overbearing spirit which the rulers of the deluded French have ever discovered. Because they had killed their king, hurled down the statues of his ancestors, and dug their rotten bones from the tomb, they had the presumption to think, that the governors of other nations ought to follow the savage example.

But, a cold reception was not the rub that Genet most complained of. The Federal Government, informed of his bold beginnings at Charleston, made no doubt that his instructions went to the engaging it in the war. Indeed these instructions were made known from the moment of his landing; and it cannot be doubted but this had influence on the conduct of the government; for an article appeared in the Charleston papers, the day after, specifying that a report had gained ground, that the Federal Government *must* take a part in the war; and this article made its appearance at Philadelphia, on the very day that the President's proclamation, declaring it the

resolution of the United States to remain neuter, was first promulgated.

This wise and determined step Genet's masters had not foreseen; or, if they did foresee it, they were not aware that it would be taken, before their missionary could find time to make his warlike proposals. This was a most cruel disappointment to the Citizen, and completely baffled all his projects. In vain did he endeavour to draw the old General from his ground, neither promises nor threats had any effect on him, and Genet soon found, that he had no hope but in rousing the people to oppose their government.

A man of more penetration than Genet might have conceived such a project feasible, from the violent partiality that every where appeared towards the French, from the little respect testified for the opinion of the government, and particularly from the freedom, not to say audacity, with which its conduct, in issuing the proclamation of neutrality, was arraigned. Besides, the Anti-federal faction began to appear with more boldness than ever. Genet was continually surrounded with them; and, as they sighed for nothing so much as for war, they strengthened him in the opinion, that the people would ultimately decide in his favour.

But, there wanted something like a regular plan to unite their forces, and bring them to act in concert. A dinner here and a supper there, were nothing at all. The drunkards went home, snorted themselves sober, and returned to their employments. It was not as in France, where a single tap upon a drum head, would assemble *canaille* enough to overturn forty Federal Governments in the space of half a night. In America there existed all the materials for a revolution, but they were scattered here and there; affiliated clubs were wanting to render them compact, and manageable, as occasion might demand.

Genet did not judge it prudent to give to the American Jacobins the same name, that had been assumed by those in France : that would have been too glaring an imitation. *Democratic* was thought less offensive, at the same time that it was well adapted to a society of men, who were about to set themselves up for the watch-dogs of a government, which they pretended was already become *too aristocratic*, and was daily growing more so ; but that a Democrat was but another name for a Jacobin no one had the folly to deny, when, afterwards, some of these very clubs were known to send petitions for having their names entered on the registers of the Jacobin club at Paris.

3 July 1793

The Mother Club, in America, met at Philadelphia on the 3d of July, 1793, about six or seven weeks after Genet's arrival in the city, during which space, it is well ascertained, more than *twenty thousand Louis d'ors* had been distributed.

As it is here, properly speaking, that the History of the American Jacobins, or Democrats, begins, it seems necessary to give some account of their *constitution*, as they termed it. This anarchical act sets out with a preamble containing the principles under which the members had united, and it then proceeds to the rules and regulations for transacting the business of the institution.

" ART. I.

Constitution

" The Society shall be co-extensive with the State ;
 " but, for the conveniency of the members, there
 " shall be a separate meeting in the city of Philadelphia, and one in each county, which shall
 " choose to adopt this Constitution. A member admitted in the city, or in any county, shall of course
 " be a member of the Society at large ; and may attend any of the meetings, wherever held."

“ ART. II.

“ A meeting of the Society shall be held in the city
“ of Philadelphia, on the first Thursday in every
“ month, and in the respective counties as often, and
“ at such times as they shall by their own rules deter-
“ mine. But the President of each respective meet-
“ ing may *convene the members on any special occasion.*”

“ ART. III.

“ The election of new members, and of the officers
“ of the society, shall be by ballot, and by a majority
“ of the votes of the members present. The names of
“ the members proposing any candidate for admission
“ shall be entered in a book kept for that purpose.
“ Every member on his admission shall subscribe this
“ Constitution, and pay the sum of half a dollar to
“ the treasurer for the use of the Society.”

“ ART. IV.

“ The officers of the meeting in the city of Phila-
“ delphia shall consist of a *President*, two *vice Presi-*
“ *dents*, two *Secretaries*, one *Treasurer*, and one
“ *corresponding committee* of five members; and the
“ meetings of the respective counties shall choose a
“ *President* and such other officers as they think
“ proper.”

“ ART. V.

“ It shall be the duty of the corresponding com-
“ mittee, to correspond with the various meetings of
“ the Society, *and with all other Societies, that may be*
“ *established on similar principles, in any other of the*
“ *United States.*”

“ ART. VI.

“ It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to keep mi-
“ nutes of the proceedings of the several meetings;

“ and of the treasurer to receive and account for all monies to them respectively paid.”

Now, what was the object of all this balloting and corresponding and meeting? This we are to look for, they tell us, in their first circular letter: here it is then.

“ Fellow Citizen,

“ We have the pleasure to communicate to you a copy of the constitution of the *Democratic Society*, in hopes that after a candid consideration of its principles, and objects, you may be induced to promote its adoption, in the county of which you are an inhabitant.

“ Every mind, capable of reflection, must perceive, that the present crisis in the politics of nations is peculiarly interesting to America. The European Confederacy, transcendent in power, and unparalleled in iniquity, menaces the very existence of freedom. Already its baneful operation may be traced in the tyrannical destruction of the Constitution of Poland: and should the glorious efforts of France be eventually defeated, we have reason to presume, that, for the consummation of monarchical ambition, and the security of its establishments, this country, the only remaining depository of liberty, will not long be permitted to enjoy in peace, the honours of an independent, and the happiness of a republican government.

“ Nor are the dangers arising from a foreign source, the only causes, at this time, of apprehension and solicitude. The *seeds of luxury* appear to have taken root in our domestic soil: and the *jealous eye of patriotism* already regards the *spirit of freedom and equality*, as eclipsed by the *pride of wealth* and the *arrogance of power*.

“ This general view of our situation has led to the
 “ institution of the *Democratic Society*. A constant
 “ circulation of useful information, and a liberal com-
 “ munication of republican sentiments, were thought
 “ to be the best antidotes to any political poison, with
 “ which the vital principles of civil liberty might be
 “ attacked : for by such means, a fraternal confidence
 “ will be established among the citizens ; every symp-
 “ tom of innovation will be studiously marked ; and
 “ a standard will be erected, to which, in danger
 “ and distress, the friends of liberty may successfully
 “ resort.

“ To obtain these objects, then, and to cultivate
 “ on all occasions, the love of peace, order, and har-
 “ mony ; an attachment to the constitution, and a
 “ respect to the laws of our country, will be the aim
 “ of the *Democratic Society*, &c.”

Never did a piece of political hypocrisy come forth to public view under such a flimsy disguise as this circular letter. People stared to see that there were men amongst them possessed of impudence enough, thus to invite them to revolt against the constitution, under the pretext of preserving it in its purity. The Americans can swallow a pretty comfortable dose of any thing that is strongly seasoned with *liberty and equality*, but there were few, above the mere vulgar, whose stomachs did not turn at this.

How *democratic societies* were to protect the country against the monarchs of Europe seemed a mystery. What standard were they to raise for the people to find shelter under, in the hour of danger and distress ? Nothing is clearer, than that the combination was intended to operate against the General Government, and against that alone. They set out with talking about the dangers to be apprehended from foreign powers, but they soon come to the point ; the spirit of *freedom and equality*, they say, is eclipsed by the *pride of wealth and arrogance of power*. It is

to combat these, that they invoke the aid of their fellow citizens.

Indeed a political club, if it is not intended to strengthen the government, must be intended to act against it. The very foundation of such a club must imply a systematic opposition to the lawful rules of the land; it is an act of rebellion, unpunishable by law 'tis true, but which will ever be punished by the abhorrence of all peaceable and honest men.

No one can read the concluding paragraph of this letter, without calling to mind the professions of the French and English Jacobins: the former united themselves under the name of, "*Les Amis de la Constitution*" (the friends of the Constitution), and the latter, under that of, "*The Constitutional Society*." What sort of *friends* to the Constitution (of 1791) the Jacobins of Paris were, their subsequent conduct, and the fate of that Constitution, have fully proved; and it would be sinning against conviction to suppose, that those of England and America exceeded them in sincerity. The patriots, or *reformers* (call them which you please) who emigrate from England, throw off the disguise as soon as their feet touch the shore. They tell you, that their intention was to destroy "the old rotten constitution of Britain," from which they took their name; and there is not the least doubt, but the Democrats would be as candid with respect to the American constitution, were they landed in France.

As to those who placed themselves at the head of the Democrats, speaking of them generally, they were very little esteemed, either as private or public characters. Few of them were men of property, and such as were, owed their possessions to some casual circumstance, rather than to family, industry, or talents. The bulk of political reformers is always composed of needy, discontented men, too indolent or impatient to advance themselves by fair and honest

means, and too ambitious to remain quiet in obscurity. Such, with very few exceptions, are those who have appeared among the leaders of the American Jacobins.*

The effects of the institution soon became apparent from one end of the United States to the other. The blaze did not, indeed, communicate itself with such rapidity as it had done in France, nor did it rage with so much fury when it had caught; but this must be ascribed to the nature of the materials, and not to any want of art or malice on the part of the incendiaries. The Americans are phlegmatic, slow to act; extremely cautious and difficult to be deceived. However, such was the indefatigableness of the Democratic Clubs, that I venture to say, without running the risk of contradiction, that more enmity to the General Government was excited in the space of six months, by the barefaced correspondencies and resolves of these clubs, than was excited against the colonial government at the time of the declaration of Independence.

The leading object was to stimulate the people to a close imitation of the French Revolutionists, who had just then begun the career of pure unadulterated sans-culottism. Every act or expression that bore the marks of politeness or gentility soon began to be look-

* The *Officers*, as they were called, of the Mother Club, and who must ever be looked upon (under Genet) as the chief instruments in founding the sect, were:

DAVID RITTENHOUSE,	President.
WILLIAM COATS,	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
CHARLES BIDDLE,	
JAMES HUTCHINSON,	} <i>Committee of Correspondence.</i>
ALEXANDER J. DALLAS,	
MICHAEL LEIB,	
JONATHAN SERGEANT,	
DAVID JACKSON,	
ISRAEL ISRAEL,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
J. PORTER,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
P. S. DUPONCEAU,	

These names should never be forgotten.

ed upon, to use their own words, as a sort of *leze republicanism*. All the new fangled terms of the regenerated French were introduced and made use of. The word *citizen*, that stalking horse of modern liberty-men, became almost as common in America as in France. People, even people of sense, began to accustom themselves to be-citizen each other in as shameful a manner as the red-headed ruffians of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.

The news-printers were in some sort the teachers of this new cant; and it was diverting enough sometimes to observe their embarrassment in rendering the French political jargon into English. One of them having a wedding to announce, found himself at a stand when he came to the word *citoyenne*. Our good ancestors had not foreseen these days of equality, and had therefore never thought of a termination to express the *feminine* of a *free-man*. To say that *citizen A.* was married to *citizen B.* would have had a brutal sound, even in the ears of a Jacobin, and therefore the ingenious news-man invented a termination, and his paragraph ran thus: "On ——— *Citizen* ——— " was married to *Citefs* ——— by *Citizen* ———."*

The *citizens* of France had just given signal proof of their patriotic valour, in making war upon the old busts and statues of their kings and nobles, and those of America were determined not to be behind hand with them, as far as lay in their power. Lord Chatham's statue, erected by the people of Charleston, South Carolina, as a mark of their esteem for the part he took in pleading the cause of America, was drawn up into the air, by means of a jack and pulleys, and absolutely hanged, not till it was dead, but till the head separated from the body. The statue of Lord Bettertout, a piece of exquisite workmanship, which stood in the town-house of Williamsburgh in Virginia, was *beheaded* by the students of that place,

* This article is to be found in the *Federal Gazette*, for the year 1793.

and every mark of indignity, such as ignoble minds can show, was heaped on the resemblance of a man, to whom the fathers of these students had yielded all possible testimony of love and esteem.

The rage for *re-baptism*, as the French call it, also spread very far. An alley at Boston, called *Royal Exchange Alley*, and the stump of a tree, in the same town, which had borne the name of *Royal*, were re-baptized with a vast deal of formality : the former was called *Equality Lane*, and the latter *Liberty Stump*. At New York the names of several streets and places were changed; *Queen Street* became *Pearl Street*, and *King Street*, *Liberty Street*.

Those who were unacquainted with the influence of the Democratic Clubs, were astonished at these marks of political insanity. Indeed, the follies of the French seemed to be wafted over the instant they had birth, and the different districts seemed to vie with each other in adopting them. The delirium seized even the women and children; the former began to talk about liberty and equality in a good masculine style : I have heard more than one young woman, under the age of twenty, declare that they would willingly have dipped their hands in the blood of the Queen of France. A third part of the children, at least, were decorated, like their wise sires, in tricolored cockades. "*Dansons la Carmagnole*," pronounced in a broken accent, was echoed through every street and every alley of Philadelphia, by both boys and girls. Some ingenious democratic poet had composed the following lines :

" Englishman no bon for me,
" Frenchman fight for liberty."

This distich, which at once shows the prevailing sentiments, and exhibits an instance of that kind of jargon which was become fashionable, was chanted about by young and old. Poor devils! thought I when I used to hear them, little do you know about liberty.

Not were marks of ferocity wanting. At a dinner at Philadelphia (at which *a man high in office* was present) a *roasted pig* became the representative of Louis XVI. and it being the anniversary of his murder, the pig's head was severed from his body, then carried round to each of the convives, who, after placing the liberty-cap upon his own head, pronounced the word *tyrant*, and gave the poor little grunter's head a chop with his knife.

Never was the memory of any man so cruelly insulted as that of this mild and humane monarch. He was guillotined in effigy, in the capital of the union, twenty or thirty times every day, during one whole winter, and part of the summer. Men, women, and children, flocked to this tragical exhibition, and not a single paragraph appeared in the papers to shame them from it.—Much has been said about the *cruelty of English sports*, and the *humane* French have now-and-then stigmatized them as barbarians, for the delight they take in seeing a pair of courageous animals spur each other to death; nay, the charge has been often repeated by Americans, and I must confess, that nothing can be said in its defence; but I defy both French and Americans to bring me an instance of cruelty from the English sports, that will bear a comparison with the exhibition above mentioned.

One cannot think of this exhibition without reflecting on the honours that Louis formerly received on the same spot. On the triumphal arch that was erected at Philadelphia, in 1783, was a bust of Louis XVI. with this motto :

MERENDO MEMORES FACIT.

His Merit makes us remember him.

On another part of the arch were the *Three Lillies*, the arms of France, with this motto :

GLORIAM SUPERANT.

They exceed in Glory.

When a representation of this Triumphal Arch was sent to the King of France, what would he have done to one of his courtiers, who should have said to him : “ Sir, be not too vain ; depend not too much “ on the sincerity of the Americans ; for, ten years “ from this day, they will shake hands with your murderers, and on the very spot where this arch was “ erected, they will murder you in effigy ; and these “ Lillies, now surpassing in glory, will they trample “ under foot.”

It is just, however, to observe, that a very great majority of the people of America, abhorred these demonstrations of a sanguinary spirit ; nor would it be going too far to assert, that two-thirds of the Democrats were foreigners, landed in the United States since the war. The charge that attaches to the people in general, is, that these things were suffered to pass unreprieved. The friends of order and of humanity were dilatory ; like persons of the same description in France, they seemed to be waiting, till the sons of equality came to cut their throats ; and if they have finally escaped, it is to be ascribed to mere chance, or to any thing, rather than to their own exertions.

While the Democratic Societies were thus poisoning the minds of the people, familiarizing them to insurrection and blood, Genet was not idle. He had surrounded himself with a troop of horse, enlisted and embodied in Philadelphia. These were, in general, Frenchmen, and no one can doubt but they were intended to act, either on the offensive or defensive, as occasion might require. This force rendered his adherents bold ; they threw off all reserve, and issued their invitations to rebellion with an unsparing hand. The clubs at a distance followed the example, and, in some instances, improved upon it.

As the Democrats increased in strength and impudence, other men grew timid. No one ventured to whisper his disapprobation of the conduct of the

French ; every one, even of their most savage acts, was applauded : robbery and murder were called *national justice* in America as well as in France. The people, properly so called, were fairly cowed down, and things seemed as ripe for a revolution here, as they were in France, in the month of July, 1790.

The country was saved from this dreadful scourge by the hasty indiscretion of the Citizen Minister. The light-headed Frenchman was intoxicated with his success, and conceived that the moment was arrived for him to set the government at defiance, and call on the people for support. But no sooner had he expressed his intention of “ appealing from the President to the “ sovereign people,” than he found he had been too sanguine. He found that the *people of America* were yet more attached to General Washington than to the French Minister or the French nation. Their love and veneration for their old and tried friend seemed to be revived by this insult ; and though the Democratic Clubs defended the conduct of their founder, they found themselves too weak to take any decided step in his favour.

When Genet discovered that he had been too rash, he strove to recover himself by denying that he had threatened the government with an appeal to the people, and his friend *Dallas*, who, as Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, had been the bearer of the threat, was prevailed on to deny that it was made. *Dallas* published an explanation of his contradictory account of the matter, endeavouring to exculpate both the Frenchman and himself ; but this explanation had no other effect than that which a lie added to an offence never fails to produce.

From this time forward the clubs were a little more cautious in their resolves. When they met it was by night, and *under lock and key*. Genet became timid, attempted to justify himself, and seemed to tremble for his fate. He saw that his resources decreased, and

that the remainder would be wanted for other purposes than that of nourishing a nest of hungry Democrats. The vital principle being extinct, the body began to dwindle : the old leaders skulked off one by one, and at last none remained but the mere tools.

Among these were the Democrats from England, a set of mortals whose stupidity is equalled by their obstinacy, and by that alone. They, poor devils, who had never been suffered even to smell the loaves and fishes, persevered with as good heart as ever, after the feast was all over ; and wondered why others abated in their zeal. Englishmen are said to be changeable and fickle minded ; but when foreigners lay this to our charge, they should make an exception of one case, and that is, *when we are in the wrong*. No men on earth abandon their errors with so much reluctance as the inhabitants on the south of the Tweed.

One *Pearce*, who had had the honour to be a delegate to the *London Corresponding Society*, and who, on that account, was admitted a member of the Jacobin club of Philadelphia, proposed a *negro man* as worthy of a seat. Pearce was a philanthropist, a true equality man, a disciple of Winchester. He was silly enough to suppose that the Democrats were really what they professed to be, and therefore he foresaw no kind of opposition to the introduction of his charcoal-faced friend, and having an extraordinary degree of zeal for the increase of the society, took the earliest opportunity to propose him. The club being met and the doors locked, he rose in all the pride of conscious fan-culottism, and proposed brother Pompey as a member ; but he soon found that the American Democrats did not carry their ideas of equality quite so far as he did. “ No, no, no,” resounded from every quarter, and when the votes came to be taken, there appeared but two or three, out of about fifty, in favour of the admission ; and thus Pompey, whom Pearce describes as a d——d honest fellow, escaped inevitable corruption and disgrace.

This refusal, however, lost them the Delegate : he told them, that he had joined the club in the persuasion that it was composed of pure Democrats, and that his conscience would not permit him to remain among them a moment, after what he had been a witness of that night.

The business of the clubs was reduced to trifling discussions of this sort, when the recall of Genet seemed to forebode their total extinction. Genet's influence had produced a complaint on the part of the American Government, and this complaint had produced his recall. The corner stone of the Jacobin affiliation being removed, every one expected the superstructure to fall to the ground ; how deceitful appearances were we shall see by-and-by, after having made a remark or two on this act of " friendly condescension," as it has been termed, of the French usurpers.

First, it must be remembered, that at the time the complaint was made, the faction, by whom Genet had been sent out, were hurled from their thrones, and another had got possession of them. Robespierre and Marat were glad of having an opportunity to accuse their rivals of having offended the American Government, and to take to themselves the credit of healing the wound. Displacing Genet instantly, upon application, was a step, too, which they knew would render them popular in America, and silence those who began to arraign the conduct of the Convention. Thus, by the means of this " condescension," they secured to themselves three advantages : it furnished them with one more crime to heap on the heads of their rival faction ; they completely supplanted that faction in the partiality of the people of the United States ; and, which was of still greater importance, they pursued the same treacherous manœuvres, without being suspected. These were the motives of this act of " friendly condescension."

That they did not, in their hearts, disapprove of the proceedings of Genet, is clear from their suffering him to remain in the United States. When did they forgive those who offended them? Had they demanded him, the government must, and, they knew, would, have given him up; but no such demand was ever made, and this circumstance alone sufficiently proves, that, had he succeeded, a *civic crown* would have been the mede of his machinations.

Fauchet, the successor of Genet, trod exactly in his steps, but with a little more caution. The Democratic Clubs made not the least hesitation in transferring their obedience from one minister to the other. Indeed, all the disciples of the new-light philosophy are made of the same commodious kind of stuff. All that they do is, to ask who directs the storm of anarchy, and they instantly become his ardent admirers, if not his tools. In this respect no set of beings, I cannot call them men, ever approached so near to the herd of Paris, as did the Democrats of America. One day saw the faction of Brissot exalted to the skies, and the very next, saw the same compliments, the very same turgid effusions of patriotic admiration, heaped on their murderers. From the first assembling of the States General to this very hour, every leader, while he continued such, has been the god of those wretches who now-a-days style themselves patriots. I have now a bundle of gazettes before me, published all by the same man, wherein Mirabeau, Fayette, Brissot, Danton, and Robespierre, are all panegyricized and execrated in due succession; nor do I yet despair of living to see Talien and Louvet added to the list. The versatile mob of Paris, who first canonized Mirabeau and Voltaire, and afterwards scattered their remains to the winds; and who, after having given Marat's ugly carcass a place in their temple of fame, and his name to a city, dug him up, put his ashes into a chamber-pot, by way of urn, and then threw them into the common sewer; this versatile, stupid and venal mob, does not surpass in either quality, the Democratic news-printers in the

United States of America ; and sorry am I to say, that they are not few in number.*

A circumstance that strongly seconded the endeavours of *Fauchet* and the Clubs, was, the discontents that existed among the people of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania, on account of the excise on whisky. These discontents were, in some measure, done away, or, at least, they produced no serious consequences, before the institution of the Democratic Societies : with this institution they revived, and assumed a more determined aspect : the malcontents

* At the head of these we may venture to place *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, a grand-son (whether in a *straight or crooked line*, I know not) of Old Doctor Franklin. This is the man whom the doctor left his books and printing-office to, and good use has he made of them. The history of the types of this office would be an amusing performance: it would be curious to trace them from the opposition of the British Colonial government to as determined an opposition against the government raised on its ruins ; from the old saws of hypocritical morality, contained in the pages of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, to the blasphemous nonsense of the French Republican Calendar. These types were, indeed, a rich legacy. Their proprietor may, with a trifling change, join in chorus with the highwayman in the *Beggar's Opera*.

“ See the types I hold !

“ See the types I hold !

“ Let the chemists toil like asses,

“ My ink their fire surpasses,

“ And turns my lead to gold !

“ And turns my lead to gold !

It must be confessed, however, that, in one instance, he did, for a moment, discover more consistency than the rest of his fellow labourers. He did defend his friends *Barrere*, *Collot d'Herbois*, and *Billaud de Varennes*, even after he looked upon them as dead ! Of “ the three ” says he, “ *Barrere* is most to be regretted.”—And why ?— “ Because he presided in the convention when *Louis* was condemned, and expressly declared, that the *Tree of Liberty* must be “ watered with the blood of the Tyrant.”—These are the humane and grateful Citizen Bache's reasons for regretting the fall of *Barrere* ! Would not one imagine that he must have been suckled with blood ? His friends defend him (God defend me from the defence of such friends) by insisting that he is a fool, and the mere cat's-paw of the supporters of his paper. Of the two, I must confess, that a *hireling* is less detestable than a *savage*, and as I wish to excite as little detestation against Bache, as justice will admit of, I leave him to take his choice of the two characters.

had now a rallying point ; by means of the affiliation they communicated their pretended grievances to every corner of the Union, from whence they instantly received assurances of aid and support of the clubs. Thus encouraged, they proceeded from one excess to another, till, at last, several counties were officially declared to be in a state of actual insurrection.

To give a detailed account of this insurrection, were it consistent with my circumscribed plan, would be of little use. That *fifteen thousand* men were obliged to quit their homes and business, to encounter a campaign of uncommon hardship and toil ; that many of these peaceable, orderly citizens (citizens in the true sense of the word) lost their lives in consequence of the fatigues they underwent, leaving their ashes to be trod on by the vile insurgents ; that the expenses of the armament to a million and a half of dollars, are to be deducted from the fruits of industry ; these are well known, and will be long remembered facts, and therefore need no historian. It is to the influence that the Democratic Clubs had in producing the insurrection, and its consequent calamities, that I wish to direct the reader's attention.

As soon as the Club at Philadelphia was formed, similar ones were formed in the Western Counties, composed entirely of men, who were not only opposed to the excise law, but to the government which had enacted it. Messengers and emissaries passed continually between the clubs in the East and those in the West. From this time the *resolves* of the malcontents assumed another tone. These refractory people had hitherto confined their demands to a repeal of the excise law ; but they now talked of forcing the government to open the navigation of the Mississippi, and complained, in the style of Genet and the Clubs, against the Proclamation of Neutrality, and, in short, against the whole of the conduct of the Federal Government.

Let any one read their *toasts* and *resolves*, and observe their manner of proceeding, and compare these with those of the Democratic Societies ; and then believe, if he can, that they were not both actuated with the same spirit, and had not the same objects in view ; namely, a war with Britain, and the destruction of the General Government. During two years had the Western complaints existed : the complainants had often assembled, and had passed resolves without number about their detestable drink ; but never till now did they join their cause to that of France : never till now did they wear national cockades, or rally under the *tree of liberty* mounted with a bloody Parisian cap. Will any man in his senses believe that these were mere whims, freaks of fancy, that came athwart their brains by chance, without the least advice or prior instruction from their friends in the East ?

Let us hear our old friend *Citizen Fauchet's* opinion on this subject. In giving his masters an account of the breaking out of the insurrection, he says : “ In the mean time *popular societies are formed* ; political ideas centre themselves ; the *patriotic party unite* and more closely connect themselves, &c.”—Then, after giving them a description of the Western people and the nature of their drink, &c. he adds : “ Now, as the common dispatches inform you, these complaints *were systematizing by the conversations of influential men, who retired into these wild countries*, and who, from principle, or by a series of *particular heart-burnings, animated discontents* already near effervescence. At last, the *local explosion is effected*. The Western people calculated on being supported by *some distinguished characters in the East*, and even imagined they had in the bosom of the government some abettors, who might share in their grievances or their principles.”

I shall not attempt to point out these *distinguished characters in the East* ; but let the reader recollect that *Mr. Dallas* was one in the leaders of the Mother,

and then let him read the following extract from another part of *Fauchet's Letter*.

“ Of all the governors, whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, *the governor of Pennsylvania* alone enjoyed *the name of Republican*; his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury and of his systems was known to be unfavourable. The *secretary of this state possessed great influence in the Popular Society of Philadelphia*, which in its turn influenced those of other states; of course he merited attention. It appears therefore that these men, with others unknown to me, all having without doubt Randolph at their head, were balancing to decide on their party. Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me the overtures, of which I have given you an account in my No. 6. Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the Republic could have decided on civil war or on peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their prices! It is very true that the certainty of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, will for ever exist in our archives! What will be the old age of this government, if it is thus early decrepid!”

From the conduct of the democrats prior to the breaking out of the insurrection, we naturally come to that which they observed subsequent to that event; and here we shall find nothing but what tends to strengthen the charge against them. Immediately upon the issuing of the President's proclamation, all the papers devoted to the French Minister and his clubs, and particularly *Bache's*, which might be looked upon as the mirror of their sentiments, attacked, with all their malice, both those who issued, and those who were ready to obey it. Every art was used to instil into the minds of the militia, that they were called on to cut the

throats of their fellow citizens merely to support the rich creditors of the State ; and, of course, that they ought not to obey the summons to attend. “ As violent means,” (says Bache’s paper of the 20th of August) “ As *violent means* appear the desire of high-toned government men, it is to be hoped that those who derive the most benefit from our revenue laws, will be the foremost to march against the Western Insurgents. Let stock-holders, bank directors, speculators, and revenue officers arrange themselves immediately *under the banners of the treasury*, and try their prowess in arms, as they have done in calculation. The prompt recourse to hostilities will no doubt operate upon the *knights* of our country to appear in military array, and then the *poor but industrious citizen* will not be obliged to *spill the blood of his fellow citizen to gratify certain resentments*, and expose himself to the loss of life and of limb to *support a funding order.*” In the same paper of the 26th of August : “ The discontents which have taken place in the Western Counties, and which have appeared in the form of open hostility to law, and indeed the dissatisfactions that are to be found in every part of the continent, may be readily accounted for, by a reference to the proceedings of our government *from its birth*. The bantling fancied itself *something royal*, before it was able to stand alone, and since it has been progressing towards manhood, the State dignity, superciliousness and manners of a monarch have characterized its actions. To support itself in royal pomp, arose the funding and banking systems, *excises*, &c. Nothing but coronets and stars are wanting, to the stockholders. Is this a land of liberty ? Is this a land where citizens are *equal* ? It would be no wonder if every citizen, who is not immediately interested in the funding system, *should rise up*, and with one word *exclaim against its iniquity*,” or, in other words, *join the insurgents*.

Such was the language of the democrats, at the very moment that the insurrection wore the most threaten-

ing aspect, and such was the effect it had on some descriptions of the people, that it was with the utmost difficulty a sufficient number of men were collected to make up the quota of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Findley, the ingenious historian of the Western Insurrection, and a principal actor in it, insists, with a *modesty* becoming his country, that the insurrection ought to be attributed entirely to the irritable *heat of the weather*, during the dog-days of 1794; and, of course he wishes us to believe, that it was quelled by the returning coolness of October and November. It must be confessed that the insurgents were afflicted with a sort of canine malady, for they snapped at the hand that yielded them protection; but, I believe, few people, after what has been said above, will not remain well convinced, that the insurrection was fomented by democratic fuel, paid for with French Gold; and that it was cooled again by the approach of General Washington, at the head of fifteen thousand men.

For the sake of preserving connection, some striking traits of *fan-culottism*, which took place prior to the epoch at which we are now arrived, have been omitted; but they are too characteristic of the sect whose history I am writing, to pass altogether unnoticed.

As I have more than once observed, that the Democrats aped the regenerated French in all their follies, and in all their crimes as far as they were able, it will be understood, that they made a boast of being atheists or deists as the Convention changed its creed. When the faction of Danton seemed to preponderate, and members exclaimed against the "aristocracy of heaven;" when the infamous *Dupont* exclaimed: "Oh! shame, Legislators of the Universe! You have hurled down the thrones of kings, and you yet suffer the altars of God to remain!" Then the Democrats made an open profession of Atheism. But when *Robespierre* obtained the ascendancy, and ordered the Convention to decree, that there was a *Supreme Being* (*Etre Supreme*); then

did our good fans-culottes burn incense on the altars of deism, with as much devotion as the ragged groups of *St. Marceau* and the whores and bullies of the *Palais de L'Egalite*.

It has been often observed, that, however widely atheism and deism may differ in theory, in practice, that is in their effects, they are nearly the same. So it happens now ; for, whether they professed the opinions of Danton or those of his bloody successor, they still testified the same hatred of the Christian Religion, and persecuted, with every insult they durst offer, all those who had courage enough to stand forward in its defence.

The first assault of this kind was on the Reverend Mr. Abercrombie of the Episcopal Church, Philadelphia. This gentleman had preached a sermon, warning his congregation against the contagion of French atheism and deism. For this instance of becoming zeal in the discharge of the most imperious of all duties, he was attacked in the public papers; accused of *bigotry*, of being *an enemy to the cause of liberty*, and of the *French people*. There was not a worthy man in the city, who did not feel an indignation against the authors of this unprovoked calumny, and who did not regret, that the injured clergyman should see the necessity of answering it. Dreadful times indeed are those, when the servants of the Lord are brought to the bar of the public, for daring to obey the commands of their master ! For daring to defend him against those, who brand him with the name of cheat and impostor !*

* About the same time that this insult was offered to Mr. Abercrombie, a paragraph appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette, published by one Brown, containing a list of eminent men, who had arisen on "the democratic floor," and concluding with, *Marat*, *St. Paul*, and *Jesus Christ*.

I have mentioned this scandalous paragraph in so many places, that I should not have done it here, had not its existence been denied in a pamphlet lately published by a Scotch run-away, whose name is *Calender*, and who was, it seems, the editor of the gazette at the time. The paragraph appeared in the paper above-mentioned, on the 20th of June, in the memorable 1794.

This pulpit evesdropping having, in some measure succeeded, they cast their scrutinizing scowling eyes over the out-side of the church. Here they found a small wooden bust of George II. This bust, like the *Old Stump* at Boston, had remained very quiet during the American revolution; but could not endure the fiery ordeal of the French revolution. Trifling circumstances like these show the difference in the influence which these revolutions have had on men's minds, in a stronger light than the most important events can do, and prove what I have always asserted; namely, that the moderation which marked the American character in the last revolution, must not be counted upon, should another take place.

The discovery of the bust was no sooner made, than the Democrats formed the resolution of destroying it; or, in the language of *Gregoire*, of committing an act of *vandalism*. They accordingly published the following card, as they called it, in their printer Bache's gazette of the 21st July, 1794.

“ *To the Clergy and Vestry of Christ Church.*

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ It is the wish of many respectable *citizens*, that
 “ you would cause the image and crown of GEORGE II.
 “ to be removed as readily as possible. It has nothing
 “ to do with the worship of the most high God, nor
 “ the government under which we exist: it has a ten-
 “ dency to cause that church to be disliked, while
 “ *bearing the mark of infamy*: it has a tendency, to
 “ the knowledge of many, to keep *young and virtuous*
 “ *men* from attending public worship: it is therefore
 “ a public nuisance.

“ M.”

One is at a loss which to admire most, the logic, the impudence, or the hypocrisy of this intimation. How exactly, too, does it imitate the style of the Con-

vention; "*young and virtuous men!*" Canting rascals! How willingly would you have led those *young and virtuous men* to cut the throats of their fathers and mothers, and of the ministers to whom they were attached!

In consequence of the democratic *card*, which was rightly looked upon as a threat, a vestry was called, and it was thought more adviseable to abandon the bust to the fury of the *vandals*, than to expose the church itself to danger. Accordingly, the *barbarians* assembled with ladders, mallets and chissels. The crown and the projecting part of the bust were chipped off; but the profile, with G on one side of it and II. on the other, are still as conspicuous as ever. All that the Democrats effected, was, a change in the ideas awakened by the sight of the bust. From a monument of well-placed esteem and gratitude, it is become a monument of democratic folly and baseness and rancour and undistinguishing revenge.

It was easy to perceive, that they did not mean to stop here, and therefore few people were surprised at their next pointing out the propriety of taking the *mitre* from the steeple.* This demand was not made in such direct and positive terms, and therefore it was not complied with; but there is little doubt but both mitre and church would have had a tumble long ago, had not the Western Insurrection excited a general hatred against the clubs, and thus rendered them less daring and insolent.

At the same time that we are recording the violences of the clubs against Christian institutions, truth requires that we should confess, that but too many of the clergy appeared either contaminated with French principles, or cowardly enough not to attempt an opposition to their progress. All that can be said in the defence of such men, is, that they feared to offend

* See Bache's gazette of the 21st August, 1794.

their congregations, on whom they were totally dependent for support. This is surely a very weak defence ; but, I am afraid, it is one that must often be made, where the pastor is removable at the pleasure of his flock.

But, there were others who were not merely passive ; who were not ashamed to mingle in the bacchanalian orgies of the civic festivals, held to celebrate the successes of atheists over the religion of which they professed to be believers, and of which they were teachers. Among these the *Reverend Citizen Prentiss*, of Reading, Massachusetts, and the *Reverend Citizen Doctor M'Knight*, of New York, claim the scandalous pre-eminence.

Nor were the places dedicated to the instruction of youth securely guarded against the approaches of fanculottism. Of this the conduct of Doctor Rogers, a teacher in the University at Philadelphia, exhibits a striking proof. He gave the boys of his class a speech out of Shakespeare's *Harry V.* to get by heart. It was the king's animating address to his army before Harfleur : " Once more to the breach, dear friends," &c. which, in Shakespeare ends thus :

" Follow your spirit, and, upon this charge,
" Cry—God for Harry ! England ! and St. George !"

This conclusion the Doctor parodied :

" Cry—God for *Freedom ! France ! and Robespierre !*"

All the class repeated it with the democratic emendation, except a little English boy about ten or eleven years of age, who boldly said :

" Cry—God for *Harry ! England ! and St. George !*"

Nor could he be prevailed upon to alter the text. This brave little fellow's name is Whitlock, who,

though a child, certainly possessed more taste, more sense, more patriotism and more piety than his Reverend teacher.

When the sweet Warwickshire bard put this noble speech into the mouth of his favourite hero, he was not blessed with the hope, that, hundreds of years afterwards, and thousands of miles distant, it would call forth such a noble spirit in a child of ten years of age.

Before I return to take my leave of the Democratic Societies, I trust the reader will not be displeased with an account of the civic *fete* of the 23d *Thermidor* (10th of August, "style of the slaves"), which was celebrated at Philadelphia in 1794.

To ward off every charge of misrepresentation, I shall confine myself to a literal translation of the *Proces Verbal* (Minutes of the proceedings), sent to the Convention, and which may be seen in the French Philadelphia gazette of the 25th *Thermidor*, 12th of August, "style of the slaves," as the humane French Governor of Gaudaloupe calls it.

" At sun-rise the *fete* was announced by a *salve* of
 " 22 guns, in allusion to the 22d of Sept.—At eight
 " o'clock another *salve* of 10 guns, at once announced
 " the *fete* of the 10th August, and the hour of as-
 " sembling.

" The French and *American* citizens now repaired
 " to the centre square, where the order of march
 " was to be settled on : the greatest part of the citi-
 " zens wore oak-boughs, and little bunches of ears of
 " wheat, ornamented with *tricolored* ribbons.

" In the middle of the square there was an obelisk
 " [*made of paste-board*], decorated with attributes
 " of liberty. On the four sides of the obelisk were
 " *engraven* [*engraven on paste-board mind*] the fol-
 " lowing inscriptions :

“ To Immortality.

“ The French Republic one and indivisible.

“ Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

“ Tremble Tyrants, your reign is over.

“ A deputation of French citizens then went to
 “ the French Minister’s where the *chiefs civil and*
 “ *military of the State of Pennsylvania* were assembled.
 “ A deputy announced to the minister that the good
 “ people were waiting for their *representatives*. They
 “ immediately came to the square preceded by the flags
 “ of the two nations, marching to the noise of drums
 “ and cannons, and amidst the cries, a hundred times
 “ repeated, of *Vive la Republique Françoise !* [I will
 not disgrace our language by translating the vile acclamation] ; “ and war-like music played, by intervals,
 “ airs analogous to the transports which burst forth
 “ from every quarter.

“ When every thing was ready, ten guns were fired
 “ as a signal for the march. Two pieces of cannon,
 “ followed by French and American cannoneers, took
 “ the lead. The hatred that we were going to swear
 “ against tyrants, was written on every countenance.
 “ The anniversary of the destruction of despotism
 “ painted on every face patriotism, liberty, and equality.

“ The *obelisk* was carried by *four citizens*, two
 “ French and two American, in red liberty caps :
 “ these were followed by a French grenadier,
 “ bearing a *pike* surmounted with a liberty cap.”

Now comes the prettiest part of the procession.

“ Twelve young *citoyennes* (or the citizens), dressed
 “ in pure white, adorned with civic crowns and cestu-
 “ ses tricolor, each bearing a little basket of flowers,
 “ surrounded the obelisk.”

What a contrast there was between these little innocent lambs, with their flower-baskets, and the swarthy grenadier with his bloody pike and cap !

“ The French Minister, the Consuls, the *chiefs civil and military of Pennsylvania*, marched in the centre of the procession.”

Indeed it was diverting enough to see these great personages, the good sober-looking, pot-bellied chiefs of Pennsylvania, come squeezing, and shoudering, and zigzagging along, like so many raw recruits at drill. They were formed into what military men call a platoon, and never did my eyes behold so awkward a squad.

There is a small omission in this part of the *Proces Verbal*, which I shall supply.—Before the procession left the centre square, the *English flag*, which had been brought thither *reversed*, under the flags of France and America, was *burnt* before the obelisk, amidst the triumphant hootings of the brave sons of liberty and equality.—This was by way of retaliation for Lord Howe’s victory over the sans-culotte fleet, the news of which had arrived the day before.

“ The procession advanced to the garden of the Minister François, where there was an altar erected to the country, on which stood the goddess of liberty. The flags of the two nations were planted on each side of her, while the little she citizens were ranged round the altar.

“ Patriotic hymns were now sung, accompanied with music ; and while the most tender and melting invocations were put up, the she citizens made to the goddess a sweet smelling offering of the flowers they had brought, with which they covered her altar, with an innocent zeal peculiar to their age.

The patriotic hymns being ended, an oration was made by a Citizen François,* and then the Minister François made another, and then the whole swore to be faithful to the Republic. The best of this was, three-fourths of the audience did not understand a word of what they heard, of what they swore to, or even of the oath they took.

“ The Minister had hardly time to conclude, when
 “ the cries [or howlings] of *Vive la Republique Fran-*
 “ *çois une et indivisible!* burst forth from every throat.

“ A discharge of cannon, a war-like march, and a
 “ roll of the drums, expressed the joy of the people,
 “ and signified that every heart was glad.—Instantly
 “ the ranks broke off, and dances were formed round
 “ the altar of liberty, and over all the enclosure.”

These dances were the finest fun I ever enjoyed. The patriotic hymns were well enough ; four hundred fellows howling out French bombast, without understanding a word of it, was not a bad specimen of fraternal dissonance ; but to behold fifty or sixty groupes, promiscuously formed, whistling, singing and capering about they knew not why nor wherefore ; and to see the “ *chiefs civil and military of Pennsylvania,*” heaving up their legs, and endeavouring to ape the light-heeled mounseers, was a spectacle which, I trust, has been seldom equalled.—In one part of the garden you heard the chorus of the bloody

*Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,
 Les Aristocrats a la Lanterne.*

* It is well worthy of remark, that this oration, which was sent to the convention, contained a high strained compliment to *Robespierre*, just at the very time that the convention and their mob were hacking and flouting and guillotining him.—Had the *virtuous civic fetors* known this, they would have cursed him most heartily ; as, indeed, they did two months afterwards.—What a pity it is, that there is no means by which our sans culottes can come at the exact state of things in France at the moment they are framing their toasts and resolves!

In another :

*Dans la carmagnole,
Vive le son, vive le son
Du canon.*

While in another,

Alons enfans de la patrie

seemed to issue from the lungs of twenty infernals. But what was still most ludicrous, was, to hear all this uttered, by the greatest part of the chanters, in an accent barbarous beyond description. But, to proceed with my translation :

“ During the rest of the day, public joy was manifested all over the city.”—That’s a lie. One half of the people of the city cared nothing at all about the *fete*, and were astonished and ashamed that the cannons of the state should be employed on such an occasion ; and I venture to affirm, that not one-twentieth part of those who assisted at it, would have assisted, had they known they were celebrating the anniversary of the fall of Louis XVI. and the horrid and cowardly murder of the Swiss guards. This remark justice demanded in defence of those who attended through ignorance. With regard to the “ *chiefs, civil and military of Pennsylvania,*” as I have too much respect for them to accuse them of ignorance, I leave them to defend themselves.

We must now return to the Democratic Clubs. In what remains to be said of them I shall be very concise.

Though they were instituted for the express purpose of clogging the wheels of government, weakening its power, and exciting a spirit of discontent among the people, that might acquire strength enough to force it into a war on the side of France, or totally annihilate it ; yet there were three measures in this continued opposition, against which the Democrats made a

bolder stand than usual, and called forth more than ordinary exertions; namely, the *Proclamation of Neutrality*, the enforcing obedience to the *Excise-Law*, and the sanctioning of the *British Treaty*. They had entered their solemn protest against the two former, and had used every means in their power to effect a forcible, and even an armed opposition to them; and their conduct with respect to the latter was exactly of the same description. But, of every part of this conduct, their resolves against the appointment of the man best calculated to bring about an accommodation; their publishing the treaty in a mutilated form with their own invidious misrepresentations; their dispatching runners to all the principal towns, to exasperate the discontented, and deceive the weak; their dishonourable means of obtaining petitions to Congress against it; the intrigues of Randolph and Fauchet, and the embarrassment and alarm their machinations spread through the country; all these are so fresh in every one's memory, that it is useless to dwell on them here. Certain it is that they ought not to be forgotten, nor will they be, while *Peter Porcupine's* writings are remembered; and though these latter are assuredly not destined to long life, I hope they will outlive the infernal sect of the Jacobins, and if this hope be to be realized, I sincerely wish they may sink into oblivion to-morrow.

The Western Insurrection and its effects had already rendered the Democrats extremely odious; here their mischievous efforts touched the pockets and the lives of the people; and their failure in the last attempt to trouble the peace of the Union, obliged them to hide their heads. The dark caballing clubs do, indeed, still exist; but they either never meet, or they dare not publish their resolves. However, let not the friends of the General Government, of order, of peace and of general happiness and prosperity, imagine that the sect is annihilated. They only wait for a more favourable moment, and should the indiscretion or supineness of the sound part of the community suffer that moment to

arrive, they will obtain an ascendancy that will enable them to inflict signal vengeance for their past disappointments. From their reign God defend me and mine !

From one justified by his talents in being anxious about his reputation as a writer, the imperfectness of this sketch would require an apology. As this is not my case, I shall make none. However, as publisher of the history of Jacobinism, I hope I can promise myself, that the satisfaction the reader will derive from the book itself, will induce him to excuse the faults of the Appendix.

E N D.





